SUFFOLK

LILIAN REDSTONE

EDITOR'S NOTE

THE BORZOI COUNTY HISTORIES are not intended as 'guide books' in the common understanding of the term. They have been designed in the belief that the presentation of the history of each county on a chronological basis will be welcomed by all who take more than a superficial interest in their surroundings and in the county of their birth. The changes in the life of the district are shown throughout all the periods of history and lead up to a description of the present manufactures, transport facilities and local organisation.

The Glossary of Place-names is based on the most modern research and shows the manner in which contemporary forms have evolved from early spellings.

S. J. M.

[*By permission of Mr. Herbert Felton.*

GILD HALL, LAVENHAM

An early Tudor half-timbered house, used by the clothiers of the Corpus Christi Gild.

THE BORZOI COUNTY HISTORIES

General Editor: S. J. MADGE, M.Sc., F.S.A.

SUFFOLK

By

LILIAN J. REDSTONE

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TO

MY FATHER

INTRODUCTION

By W. E. JORDAN, M.A., *Vice-master, Tutor and Fellow of Selwyn College, Cambridge.*

IN recent years attempts have been made to encourage and enliven the study of General English History by drawing the attention of the young reader to local history. This sketch of Suffolk throughout the ages is one of a series intended to include all English counties. In ten short chapters Miss Redstone has given a bright and interesting account of Suffolk from the prehistoric period to the present day. To do this in a limited number of pages, to decide what should be included and what omitted, and to present a proper balance is a difficult task; and if the result is merely a 'potted' text-book the writer will simply have produced another failure. What is required is to give a general impression of broad periods, to create a proper 'atmosphere' and to sum up the leading characteristics of each period. Miss Redstone has done much to fulfil these conditions. Dividing her subject (in accordance with the plan of the series) into chapters dealing with prehistoric, Roman, mediæval, Tudor, and Stuart Suffolk followed up by three chapters dealing with the period from the eighteenth century to the present day, she has produced a very readable account. As the result of her researches in Suffolk records, the writer has been able to give us fresh details of local history with many entertaining sidelights

which will appeal to the teacher even more than to the pupil. This little book is distinctly something more than a mere outline sketch for teaching purposes: it will appeal to a wider circle and I feel sure will be read with interest by all East Anglians.

The illustrations are well chosen and deal with subjects outside those of the ordinary commonplace type.

W. E. J.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THIS little book owes more to its writer's friends than can be sufficiently acknowledged. It has been written at the hospitable desks of the Ipswich Public Library, and is largely drawn from the unique collection of local books there. I want to record my sincere gratitude to the staff of the Library for their helpful advice and invariable courtesy. Every page of the book ought really to have a foot-note acknowledging its inspiration by my father, Mr. V. B. Redstone of Woodbridge. To my introducer, Mr. W. E. Jordan, I owe a large debt for much learned counsel as well as for a careful revision of the proof. I am very grateful to Mr. George W. Robinson of the Widener Arts and Science Library, Harvard, for reading and criticising the proof. I should also like to thank Miss Dorothy Hartley and Mr. W. V. Garrard for their collaboration in making the line drawings, and Mr. G. Mackay for re-drawing the maps. I am indebted to the following for their kindness in lending me illustrations: The Venerable the Archdeacon of Suffolk, for the photograph of Eyke Church; Mr. H. M. Spink, Secretary to the East Suffolk County Education Committee, for material for the map showing Coastal Changes, and to the Rev. Henry Tyrrell Green of Santon Downham for the photograph of Brandon flint-knappers. Nearly all the rest of the illustrations have been provided or suggested by my Father.

The history of any county is well worth study since

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beautiful, hard, grey flints. Although flint is even harder than steel, it can be flaked off and shaped at will, and the flints of Suffolk have always been its most useful building material.

In the lower reaches of the Orwell and the Deben, after the chalk had been formed, a later sea left behind the soft, pasty London clay, which is used for making bricks at Hadleigh. In the London clay are lumps of sand and stone called ' septaria ' which have sometimes been used for buildings, such as Orford Castle, and sometimes for making a cement which was called ' Roman ' because it was so hard. Other kinds of clay mixed with sand and called the Thanet and Reading beds are also used for brick-making near Sudbury and at Bramford and Ipswich.

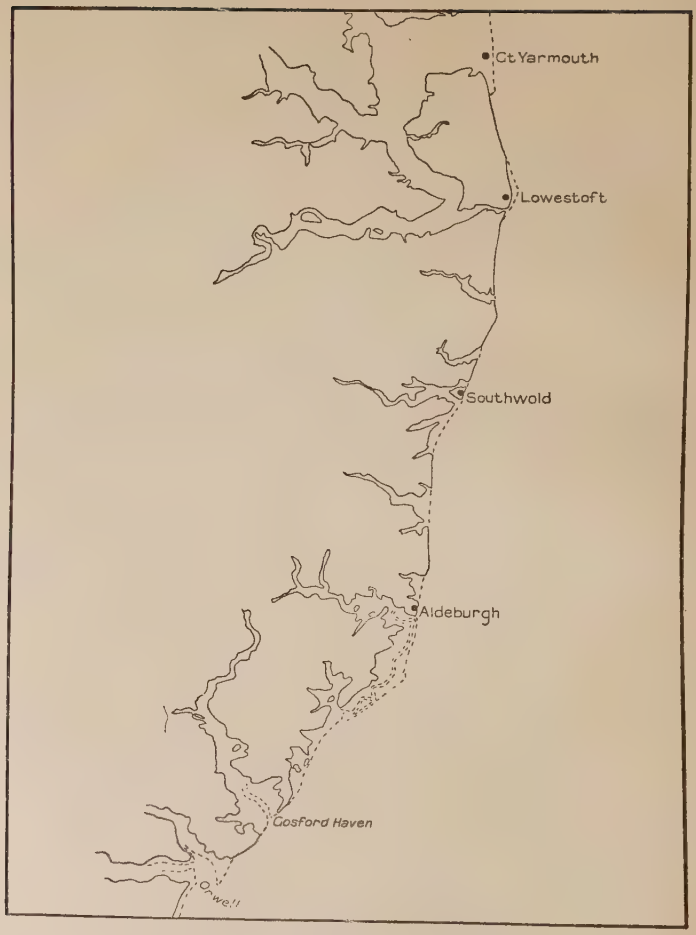
The seas, which left behind the chalk and the brick-earths, shrank away, and shallow water washed the eastern edges of the county, depositing the crags for which Suffolk is famous. Crag, like chalk, is made up of millions of shells. They are mixed with sand, and underneath are the bones of many animals, including extinct beasts such as the mastodon. The bones contain phosphate which is good for the land, and the fossilised ' coprolite ' from these animals has been worked for fertilisers at Newbourne and Falkenham and elsewhere. The white Coralline Crag, which is best seen between Aldeburgh and Gedgrave, is just a great bank of sea-shells. The Red Crags which make a ragged fringe all along the Suffolk coast are the sandy shell-deposits from a shallow sea.

Later still, in a very cold period, the whole county was covered with glaciers, which brought away from a more rocky country a pasty earth filled with harder

stones and flints. This is the boulder clay, which covers nearly the whole of Suffolk. Its softly-moulded, fertile 'swales,' or valleys, grow good wheat and barley, and give to Suffolk scenery its pleasant, varied appearance. From the south-west a ridge of chalk, left by the ancient sea, juts into Suffolk out of Cambridgeshire. This ridge is never more than 400 feet above the level of the present sea; but it makes what is called 'High' Suffolk, where the air is keener than in other parts.

England was all one with Europe just before the boulder clay was formed; and afterwards the North Sea flowed in as we now know it. The Suffolk coast was not then so smooth and regular as it now looks on the map. Little rivers at Kessingland, Benacre, Dunwich, and many other places, ran straight into the sea, making harbours. Points jutted out, making a ragged fringe of soft earth. The tides and the winds have altered this. The sea soon broke away the soft points, such as the Ness at Easton, one mile north of Southwold, which is said to have been the easternmost point in England when the Roman Emperor Hadrian governed here.

Along a great part of the Suffolk coast the tide comes in from the north, bringing with it sand and shingle, and leaving the shore hard and 'dead' when it goes out again. During many centuries, the incoming tides built up bars of shingle before the mouths of the little rivers, making good harbours at Yarmouth, Dunwich and Orford, and turning the outlets of the rivers to the south. But Suffolk men were not content when the bars grew so great that the rivers were blocked, or the towns were no longer at the harbour



MAP SHOWING COASTAL CHANGES

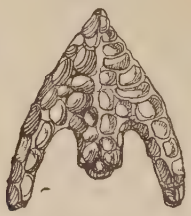
The dotted line is the present coast; the plain line shows what it used to be.

mouth. So Yarmouth quarrelled with Gorleston because the harbour shifted thither, and Southwold disputed with Dunwich, and each town tried to cut through the bar to make itself a direct harbour from the sea. At last, in 1566, Yarmouth made itself so good a protection, against which the shingle from the north piled up, that shingle defences no longer formed along the Suffolk coast farther south, and the sea began to eat into the land between Yarmouth and Lowestoft. Dunwich had begun to perish even earlier. Nine hundred years ago, the sea carried away half of it; but it had a good harbour protected by a shingle spit until 1328, when a mighty storm from the north-east blocked the whole haven, leaving only a narrow entrance two miles away to the north. The people of Dunwich were constantly quarrelling with those of Walberswick and Southwold about the exact point north of Dunwich where they should cut through this shingle bar which blocked them from the sea. Meantime, the soft cliffs south of Dunwich were steadily worn away by the weather as well as by the sea. Practically the whole of this large city now lies under the sea. The town of Orford, also, has dwindled to a village; for here the shingle bar gradually blocked the haven.

It is only in the extreme south of the county, where the tidal waters which break on the coast from the north have lost their force, that the Rivers Deben, Orwell and Stour still force their way directly into the sea, and make safe havens for the ships which ply between England and Holland.

One look at the map will show how important to Suffolk are its waterways. The whole of its eastern

boundary is washed by the sea, and Lowestoft Ness is now the easternmost part of England. The Little Ouse and the Waveney divide Suffolk from Norfolk on the north; the whole of its southern boundary is the River Stour. The River Lark divides it from Cambridgeshire on the west. The county is thus all but an island; and some of the earliest of our ancestors protected its only approach from the south-west by the 'Devil's Dyke,' a long embankment with a ditch beyond, keeping Suffolk against the inroads of hostile peoples coming upon it from the south-west.



FLINT ARROW-HEAD

The earliest men who lived in Suffolk used the flints, which they found there, both as weapons and as tools. Many of the flints which they shaped, and numerous 'scrapers' which they used for the purpose, have been found in almost every part of Suffolk, and especially in and near Ipswich, round Hoxne, and in the Mildenhall neighbourhood. Some of the early men also used axes made of stone, which have been found at Belton, Baylham and Chediston. After the men who used only stone, came others who were of the Celtic race and used metal also. The earliest of these were the Goidels (Gaels), whose hoards of bronze implements have been found at Poslingford

Hall, near Clare, and at Thorndon, and in the far west at Exning. Elsewhere the Goidels lived in caves; but Suffolk had no rocky caves to offer them a home, and some of their houses were built upon piles in the middle of Barton Mere. Sometimes they made earth trenches for defence, and perhaps the double entrenchments at Clare were made by them. They liked beautiful things in their homes, and ornamented their vessels with patterns such as those which adorn a drinking-cup found in one of their burial 'barrows' at Lakenheath. They wore gold ornaments too, such as a *torque* or twisted ornament of gold which was found at Boyton.

The later Celts, or Brythons, who followed the Goidels, used iron as well as bronze. Some of their horse-harness was found in a field at Westhall, a very fine finger-ring at Mildenhall, and a wooden tankard plated with bronze at Elveden. Most of these things have been found in their barrows, or burial-places. At Boxford, in the south of the county, is a complete cemetery belonging to this period. Sometimes treasure was buried for safety, and so gold coins have been found at Santon Downham and Freckenham. The inscriptions on their coins show that they belonged to a tribe called the Iceni. The Iceni were living in Suffolk twenty centuries ago, when the Romans conquered Britain.

CHAPTER II

ROMAN SUFFOLK

THE Roman expeditions against Britain had at first little effect upon the Iceni, who then occupied what we know as Suffolk. The first raid of Julius Caesar in B.C. 55 may indeed have come to the ears of the British in this neighbourhood; but their earliest direct knowledge of the strength of Rome must have come with the news of the defeat of the sons of Cunobelin, who led the Britons from the country around Colchester against the forces of the Emperor Claudius under Aulus Plautius. The Iceni had been for some time in direct touch with the tribes ruled by Cunobelin, and his coins minted at Colchester have been found in villages along the Stour valley, at Glemsford and Lawshall, and also at Ipswich. The Iceni were probably hostile to their neighbours and at first were glad to become the allies of the Romans against them; but in A.D. 50 the Roman general Ostorius decided to push forward the Roman conquests, and no longer to make alliances with British tribes. The Iceni, a powerful tribe and unbroken by war, then took the lead against the Romans; but the rough earthen ramparts with which they defended themselves were soon broken by the Roman soldiers, and they in their turn were defeated. Ostorius set up a Roman colony

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FIGURE OF A ROMAN EMPEROR

Possibly Nero (A.D. 54–68), found at Barking Hall.

at *Camulodunum* (Colchester) to strengthen his new conquest, and the Iceni submitted to Roman rule. Their aged and wealthy king, Prasutagus, hoped to save his kingdom at his death by dividing his riches between his daughters and the Roman Emperor. The Romans, however, would not be content with a part. They seized the whole, scourged Boadicea (*Boudicca*), the widow of Prasutagus, and maltreated his daughters. Boadicea then led in revolt not only the Iceni but also the neighbouring Trinobantes in Essex, who were maddened by the oppressions of the Roman procurator Catus Decianus, and driven to despair by the ill-considered action of the philosopher Seneca. He was then minister to the Emperor Nero, and had recalled, at a time of great want, money which Rome had lent to the British tribes.

The allied British armies under Boadicea stormed and sacked *Camulodunum* (Colchester), defeated the Ninth Legion of the Roman army, and captured *Verulamium* (St. Albans) and the merchant city of *Londinium* (London). Yet they could not long hold out against the disciplined forces of Rome, and they were at length entirely routed by the general Suetonius Paulinus and the Fourteenth Legion, henceforward called 'the Tamers of Britain.'

From this date (A.D. 61) onwards the country between the Stour and the Waveney was Romanised. There was no great colony such as *Camulodunum* (Colchester), and there were only a few Roman villages, such as those which lay at Icklingham, or in the valley between Earl Stonham and Little Stonham, or below Eastlow Hill near Rougham; but over the whole of the country-side were scattered single houses or 'villas,'

sometimes defended by rectangular entrenchments. Such a single entrenchment can be traced at Brettenham; and at Stowlangtoft is a double entrenchment. Some of the houses were built of fine Roman bricks, which were made locally, as at the brick-kilns at Byng Hall, near Pettistree. Others were made of flint rubble or of unbaked clay. Their owners used smooth, red, *Samian* ware, if they were wealthy, but many of the Romanised Britons used coarse brown pottery, and some of this was made in potteries at West Stow. Pewter vessels were also used, and a whole service from one house in Icklingham can be seen at the British Museum. The Romans were fond of ornaments, and some of fine workmanship have been found, such as the two bronze lions which came from Capel St. Mary and are now in the Ipswich Museum, or pipeclay figures like those of the goddess Venus which were found at Hawkedon, or the beautiful bronze figure of an Emperor, possibly the Emperor Nero, which belonged to a Roman household at Barking Hall in mid-Suffolk. Under Roman government, the British gradually learned to adopt Roman customs, but their old habits died slowly and we know from the old metal collected by a Roman tinker at Santon Downham that the metal vessels still in use there in the second century were of pure British origin.

In most parts of the Roman Empire the great military roads can still be traced, but it is very difficult to do so in present-day Suffolk. They ran, we know, from north to south across the county, and the line of one, the road from Colchester to the important town of *Venta Icinorum* (Caistor-by-Norwich) can be traced as it crosses the Stour at Stratford St. Mary

(*Ad Ansam*) and goes northwards to Baylham. This road is known also to have crossed the Waveney at Scole; but its route in between is uncertain. It turned eastwards to *Sitomagus* (Dunwich), either by way of Coddenham and Peasenhall, or possibly through Burgh-by-Woodbridge and Stratford St. Andrew.

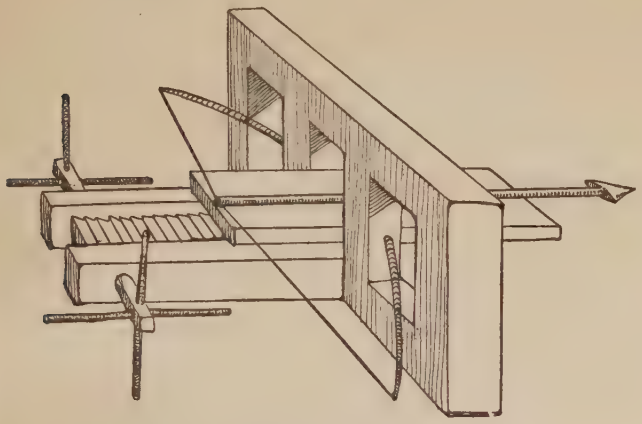
BURGH CASTLE

A Roman fortress, showing a bastion, made of rubble with ' courses ' of thin, Roman bricks.

Another road went through the county farther to the west, leading from Colchester, through two unidentified places called *Villa Faustini* and *Icinos*, to Lincoln and thence to Carlisle. Waterways rather than roads were most important in this part of the country. The Stour, the Orwell, the Deben, the Ore, the Alde and the Waveney were all much deeper than

they are now, and the Ore, the Alde and the Waveney had more direct entrances to the sea. It was therefore at the entrance of the rivers that the Romans built their Suffolk forts, *Gariannonum* (Burgh Castle) to protect the Waveney, and Walton to guard the mouths of the Stour, the Orwell and the Deben. Walton was long ago covered by the sea and only a mass of masonry, which can be seen at low tide, is left of one of the most important Roman stations on the East Coast. It had domestic houses near by and remains of some of these have been found on the cliffs at Felixstowe. Much more is left of the Roman fortress at Burgh Castle, so that we may picture more easily what it looked like when it was garrisoned by the Stablesian Horse, who were cavalry sent at the Emperor's command from the North of Africa to patrol the flat country of the East Coast of Britain, and to guard against raids of the Anglo-Saxon pirates who came from the North of Europe. The castle was a great quadrangle of 640 feet by 413 feet. Its walls were made of a core of rubble faced with flint, and lined with frequent string-courses of red brick. The walls were nine feet thick and at each corner and in other parts also they were strengthened by high bastions on which could be mounted *balistae*, which were large catapults for throwing stones and arrows. Inside the quadrangle were quarters for the officers and men, but these have long since disappeared and there only remains the heating apparatus which was used for the very frequent baths taken by all Romans. The forts at Walton and Burgh Castle served a double purpose. They overawed the Britons and they also defended the coast from the Anglo-Saxon raiders,

whose attacks on the East Coast of Britain as well as on the northern coast of Gaul became so troublesome



ROMAN BALISTA

to the Romans that they organised a special defence of these parts, under an officer called the Count of the Saxon Shore.

CHAPTER III

SUFFOLK UNDER ANGLE AND DANE

THE Roman garrisons withdrew from the forts at Walton and Burgh Castle early in the fifth century. They were called back to Italy to defend the heart of the Roman Empire against attacks by the Barbarians. Other Barbarians were pressing upon the Teutonic tribes which then lived along the northern coasts of Europe. The Teutons in their turn sought new homes across the sea, coming to Britain first as raiders, then as settlers. Amongst them were the Angles, who left the lower reaches of the River Elbe and came up the Stour, the Alde and the Waveney, no longer protected by Roman soldiers. They overcame the Romanised Britons, and so absorbed them that even their place-names scarcely survived, except perhaps in Dunwich, or just possibly in Walpole.

The Angles made an important township on the high ground at Ipswich, as we know from their large cemetery, which has recently been discovered. Some, who came up the Alde, buried their dead in large numbers in the *tumuli* near Snape, and one great chieftain in his own boat. Those who made their way north of the Waveney called themselves the 'North Folk,' and their district became Norfolk. Those who settled between the Waveney and the

Stour were the 'South Folk,' and lived in Suffolk. They brought with them their wives and families and their household goods. In Suffolk they settled more thickly than in the rest of England, and the many 'hams,' 'tons' and 'fields' among Suffolk villages show how many of these settlements were made by Angles. It was they, for instance, who founded villages with names like Alphe*ton*, Framling*ham* or Fressing*field*.

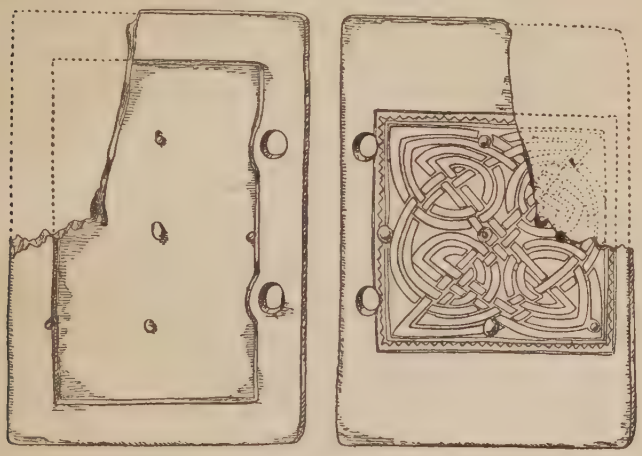
Four hundred villages thus grew up in Suffolk. Each had three open arable fields, of which one lay fallow every year and the other two were ploughed. The settlers had their own strips in each of these fields, and their beasts had common pasture on the pasture land and in the fallow and stubble. The Angles governed their villages in their town 'moots' or assemblies, and 'moot-halls' still survive in some Suffolk towns, such as Aldeburgh. The villages were grouped in districts called hundreds, and the moot for each hundred met at the waterside, often near a ford or bridge. So, for example, hundred moots were held at Risbridge and Cosford and at the Gallows Hill by Wilford. The moot for the whole shire of Suffolk met at Ipswich. The same sheriff, or shire-reeve, presided both in Norfolk and in Suffolk, right down to Tudor times; then, in 1575, Queen Elizabeth appointed a separate sheriff for Suffolk.

The East Anglian settlers were frequently at war with other Teutonic peoples, who formed their kingdoms in Kent and Wessex, Mercia (the Midlands), and Northumbria (the North). East Anglian kings were subject to one or other of these neighbouring kingdoms for three hundred years. At first, the

Angles in Norfolk and Suffolk were in close alliance with the Jutes, who had come to Kent shortly before the Angles settled in Norfolk and Suffolk; but early in the seventh century a notable East Anglian king, named Rædwald, broke away from the former dependence upon the Kentish kings. Aethelbert, King of Kent, had then just become a Christian, and Paulinus persuaded Rædwald to be baptised at Rendlesham. The East Anglians, however, did not care to become Christians, and Rædwald's wife and his people despised the new religion. Rædwald himself soon after this threw off the overlordship of Kent, and himself became overlord of the North Britons, whom he defeated by the River Idle in Nottinghamshire.

The East Anglians were not long supreme. When Rædwald died Sigebert, his son, became King of East Anglia. He had been an exile in Gaul, and became a Christian. Afterwards he became a monk and lived in retirement at *Beodricsworth* (Bury St. Edmunds). While he was there, Penda, the pagan king of the Mercians, who ruled in the Midlands, attacked East Anglia. The people dragged Sigebert from his monastery to lead them against their Mercian enemies. He fought unarmed and was defeated and slain. His saintly brother Anna was also slain at Bulcamp by the heathen Mercians, who thus gained control over Suffolk. Nevertheless, Christianity continued to grow amongst the Suffolk people, as a result of the teaching of the Burgundian missionary, Felix, at Dunwich, and the Irish saint, Fursey, at Burgh Castle. King Sigebert had set up a bishop's see for St. Felix at Dunwich, and the first Anglian school was founded there. Whilst Suffolk children were thus learning Christianity

from the missionaries, King Anna's daughters carried it to distant parts of England. One of them, the wise and able St. Hilda, founded the great monastery of Whitby in Yorkshire. Another, St. Etheldreda, who was born at Exning, and became Queen of Northumbria, laid aside her crown in order to found and govern a great monastery at Ely. Her sister, Queen Sexburga of



WHALE-BONE WRITING TABLETS

Found at Blythburgh, and probably used by some Irish missionary, who poured wax into the hollow part, and wrote with a stylus.

Kent, succeeded her as Abbess of Ely. In 673 a new bishopric was founded at Elmham, possibly South Elmham. The work of Christianising Suffolk was carried on also by St. Botolph, who founded a monastery in the 'dismal swamps,' possibly by the River Alde at Iken. Gradually the whole county became Christian, and in spite of constant warfare, every

Suffolk village built its own church and gave land and tithes to support its own priest.

The Northumbrians had for a time become supreme in East Anglia, for they had defeated Penda of Mercia at *Winwæd* in 655, and with him they had overcome the East Anglians led by Aethelhere. In the eighth century, however, the East Anglians returned to their former alliance with the Mercians, until the East Anglian king Aethelbert was betrayed by Offa of Mercia in 794. Aethelbert had set out westwards from *Beodricsworth*, with his mother's blessing, intending to marry Offa's daughter. He was treacherously slain in Herefordshire, and the great cathedral of Hereford takes its name from him, as well as the Suffolk churches of Hoxne, Herringswell and Falkenham.

The East Anglian kings were driven into alliance with the kings of Wessex, and with this support they twice defeated the Mercians; but the whole of East Anglia was in turmoil and desolation, and its kings were little more than the underlings of Wessex. Trade, however, continued, and the coins of the under-kings of East Anglia, with their characteristic mark 'A,' were carried as far as Lancashire, Surrey and Kent.

A new trouble then sprang up. The Danish vikings, who from time to time attacked the Suffolk coast, spent the winter there in 866, instead of withdrawing their ships and men when the bad weather came. Inguar and Hubba, the leaders of these vikings, then made for the North of England; but in 870 they returned separately. Hubba destroyed Ely and threatened Suffolk from the west, while Inguar's fleet came down the coast, burning and ravaging. The East Anglian king, Edmund, a native of Bures, and now

in the prime of his life, left part of his forces to withstand Hubba, and led the rest eastwards against Inguar. He was outnumbered and defeated at *Haglesdun*, but refused to divide his kingdom, or to rule under a heathen enemy. So the Danes bound him to a tree, pierced him with arrows, and finally beheaded him, throwing the head into the neighbouring forest, while his followers buried the body at *Suthtun*.[1] Deprived of their king, the Angles in West Suffolk were also defeated by Hubba, who reached Thetford and overcame all the surrounding country.

The Danes thus conquered Suffolk, and ten years after St. Edmund's death the county became part of the kingdom of Guthrum the Dane, who is said to have lived at Hadleigh and to have been buried there. He had been assigned this part of England by the peace of Chippenham, which he made with King Alfred the Great; but here could be no settled peace, so long as Danish raiders used East Anglia as a refuge whence they attacked the rest of England. Accordingly, in 918, King Alfred's son, Edward the Elder, re-conquered Suffolk from the Danes. Order was established for a short time by a great *ealdorman*, Aethelstan, who governed Suffolk nd Norfolk, as well as much of the country to the west. In 970, King Edgar re-founded Ely monastery in the Western Fens, and gave it many lands in Suffolk and the government of five and a half hundreds in the East of Suffolk.

Scarcely had the county recovered from the struggle with Guthrum and his Danes, when, in 991, fresh

[1] *Haglesdun* may either be Hoxne, or else Haglestow, between Bromeswell and Sutton on the Deben. *Suthtun* may either be Suddon near Hoxne, or Sutton on the Deben.

Norse raiders under Guthmund and Olaf Tryggvesson entered the Orwell and plundered and burnt Ipswich. Then they turned south into Essex, where they overcame the brave *ealdorman* Brihtnoth and his East Saxons, in the fight at Maldon which is described in one of our earliest English poems. King Aethelred thereupon bought off the raiders with 10,000 pounds of silver, vainly hoping thus to purchase their aid against another enemy, Swein of Denmark. The money was raised by the tax known as Danegeld. It was collected hundred by hundred and was paid in Suffolk by groups of villages blocked together in 'leets'; but very soon Suffolk was to become for a second time part of a Danish kingdom.

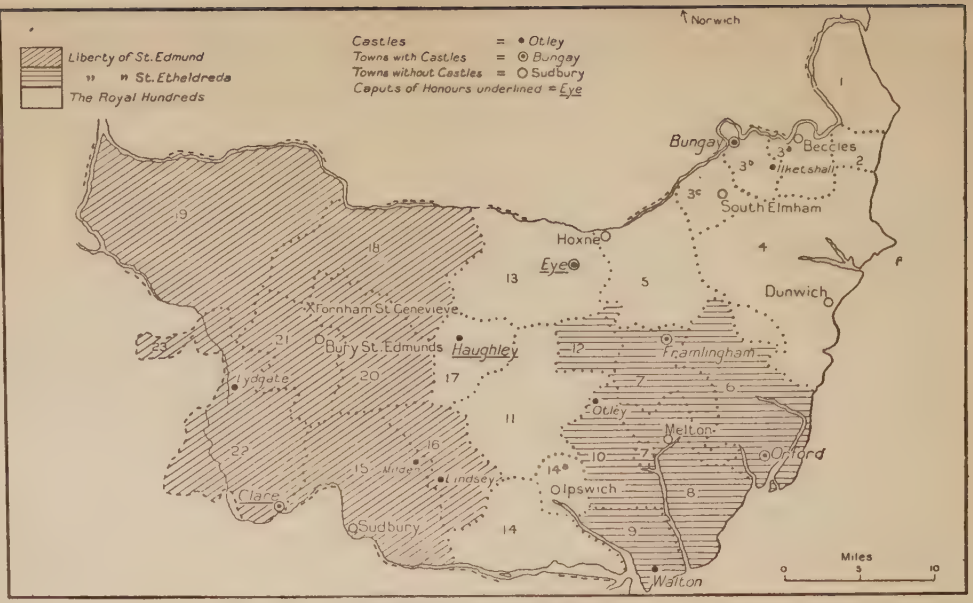
The struggle against the Danes was carried on bravely for some time by the East Anglian thegn Ulfcetyl with the men of the *fyrd*, or the home-forces, of East Anglia. At first Ulfcetyl tried to make a separate peace with Swein's men, but they broke truce, attacking and plundering Thetford. Ulfcetyl's men turned upon them, and the Danes admitted that they had never received harder blows from any Englishmen. Ulfcetyl's forces were indeed broken; but the Danes withdrew for a whole year. Next, in 1010, there arrived a Danish fleet of forty ships with three thousand men under Thurkill. Ulfcetyl's *fyrd* was defeated again after a brave fight. The enemy attacked Ipswich and for three months ravaged the country, penetrating far inland to the Fens. When Swein himself reached the Humber in 1013, the East Anglians allied themselves with him. Many, indeed, must already have been Danish in their sympathies, for three generations only had passed away since they

had been governed by Guthrum's Danes. The abbey of St. Edmund at *Beodricsworth*, to which had been carried the bones of the patriot king and saint, Edmund, refused, however, to pay tribute to a Danish king, and Swein died there in 1014, as he was about to plunder and burn the monastery in revenge. His son Cnut carried on the struggle for England against King Aethelred's English son, Edmund Ironside, to whom the East Anglian Ulfcetyl brought his support. Ulfcetyl was slain at the battle of *Assandun* and in 1016 the Danish Cnut became king in East Anglia, as well as over all England.

In Suffolk, Dane and Angle then began to live in peace side by side. In token of their new friendship a small monastery was established at Thetford, where Austin canons prayed both for the Danes and the English who had fallen in battle. King Cnut himself became patron of the monks of St. Edmund at *Beodricsworth*, bestowing upon them lands and a charter of liberties. A few villages only in Suffolk took names that were entirely Danish, such as Ashby, Risby and Wilby; but some have names which are partly Anglian, partly Norse, such as Wickham Skeith and Bildeston. The language spoken by Suffolk people is still full of Norse words, and especially in East Suffolk the whole life of the people was influenced by Danish customs and law. The Danish 'thing' replaced the Anglo-Saxon 'moot' both at Bury in 'Thingho' hundred, and at Ipswich, where the meeting-place was known as the 'Thingstead.' The Norse love of freedom is reflected in the numerous freemen, who held their land almost independently in Suffolk, at a time when in most parts of England the manorial system was grow-

ing into being, and men's lands elsewhere were becoming burdened with services due to the lord of the manor. These numerous, comparatively small, freeholds have made the villages of Suffolk of a much more scattered kind than the compact villages, clustered round a crossway or built along a street, which are so common in other parts of England; and such Suffolk 'street' villages as there are, are either Roman in origin, like the two Stratfords, or have grown up in comparatively modern times along the coach-roads, as the newer part of Melton did.

Three Danish kings governed England in succession. When the Anglo-Norman Edward the Confessor succeeded in 1042 the Danes were still strong in Suffolk, and numbered such notable people as the great man called Fyn the Dane, whose lands lay round about Clare. The Confessor, in 1044, made a grant to the monks of St. Edmund, which was destined to give them control in the whole of West Suffolk for five hundred years. He gave them the government of eight and a half hundreds in Suffolk. By King Cnut's charter they already enjoyed royal privileges in all their lands, which by the time of the Norman Conquest amounted to three hundred manors. The monks of St. Edmund thus became supreme in West Suffolk; and in East Suffolk the church of St. Etheldreda, or Ely, possessed equal power within the five and a half hundreds, which had been given to it by King Edgar. These two 'liberties' covered almost two-thirds of the county. The whole earldom of East Anglia was administered under Edward the Confessor first by Earl Harold, who afterwards became King of England, next by the traitor Aelfgar, who at length confessed



LIBERTIES AND HUNDREDS

1 Lothingland
2 Mutford
3 (*a*, *b*, *c*) Wangford
4 Blithing
5 Hoxne
6 Plomesgate
7 Loes
8 Wilford
9 Colneis
10 Carlford
11 Bosmere and Claydon
12 Thredling
13 Hartismere
14*a* The Liberties of Ipswich
14 Samford
15 Babergh
16 Cosford
17 Stow
18 Blackbourne
19 Lackford
20 Thedwastre
21 Thingho
22 Risbridge
23 Exning

his treachery, the words 'shooting forth against his will,' and finally by Earl Gurth, who rode out against the Normans with the men of Ipswich in 1066, and fell at Senlac beside his brother when William I conquered there.

Ipswich then had its earthen ramparts and gates; but there was no other walled town in Suffolk (except possibly the Roman 'Walton,' now lost), nor did one ever grow up. The Angles must have raised many embankments, besides the 'Warbanks' at Shimpling, for protection against Danish raiders; but most of these earthworks have been ploughed down. There remain, however, the simple moats, over five hundred in number, which defended larger halls as at Hawstead, smaller homesteads like the Brook Farm at Beyton, or the Wood Farm at Otley, and occasionally even churches such as those at Gedding and Wattisham.

Suffolk people at the time of the Conquest were nearly all living upon the produce of the land. Small towns such as Thorney (in Stowmarket), Hoxne, or Haverhill served merely as markets. One or two larger towns like Eye and Clare had grown up round fortified places. The small town of Sudbury, which had been occupied by the Romans, and had its own mint and fifty-five burgesses, owed much of its importance to the monastery of St. Gregory, which gave it the second name of 'St. Gregory's Bury.' The monks of the great Benedictine Abbey at Bury St. Edmund's regarded the townsfolk as existing only for the benefit of the Abbey. It was on the coast only that large commercial towns had grown up. At Dunwich 120 burgesses lived prosperously, paying a yearly rent of 60,000 herrings to the monks of Bury

and having their own 'exchanger' of money at the neighbouring village of Blythburgh. At Ipswich there was also a mint and there were 538 burgesses there. Yet, even in Ipswich, the farmsteads ran right into the town, and the merchant-burgess lived side by side with men who lived on their own crops and flocks.

Already Suffolk had earned the nick-name of 'Silly' or 'Holy' because of the great number of its churches, some built by the 'lord' of the village, some by the combined effort of freemen, as at Braiseworth, Willingham and Thorney. Of these early churches, and of the houses of those who built them, scarcely anything remains except the solid walls of flint and pebble at South Elmham, relics either of the seat of the East Anglian bishops, or of some great Anglian monastery.

CHAPTER IV

NORMAN SUFFOLK

IN 1066, Earl Gurth rode out with his Suffolk men against the Norman invaders. Four-fifths of his Ipswich burgesses never returned; three hundred Ipswich homesteads lay desolate and ownerless. Then the Norman conquerors began to share out the land, dividing among themselves many Suffolk lordships. The East Anglian earldom fell to Ralf the Staller, who had already had dealings with the Suffolk people and had held Thorney (Stowmarket) in pledge when Edward the Confessor died. William the Conqueror's own kinsman, Richard FitzGilbert, took for his share of the spoils the little town of Clare with nearly a hundred Suffolk lordships, thus founding the ' honour ' of Clare. Eye, another town with many dependent lordships, fell to William Malet, a Norman of Graville. A third town, Haughley, was accepted with ill grace by Hugh de Montfort, who was discontented at getting so small a portion of the booty.

Suffolk prospered under the new king. The old order changed here less than it did in many other counties. In West Suffolk, the abbot of St. Edmund, a Frenchman by birth, kept for his monastery nearly all its lands, and the prized jurisdiction over eight and a half hundreds. In the East, the church of St. Ethel-

dreda retained its five and a half hundreds. Suffolk men still looked to these two great ecclesiastics to keep law and order in the greater part of the county. In the 'liberty' of St. Edmund the coming of the Normans hastened the development of manors as it did in other counties; but in East Suffolk the small-holders never lost their independence. It was rare here to find a single lord holding court for the tenants in the whole of a separate parish. The 'manors' which grew up in this part of the county were often very small, sometimes only amounting to 30 acres, and many men tilled their small holdings free from the burdensome services which bond-tenants owed to the lord of the manor. Comparatively few Suffolk villages have the double names, such as Thorpe Morieux or Carlton Colville, which came from the Norman lords of manors. Both in the small holdings and in the great sheep-farms of St. Edmund, flocks prospered and the wool trade made people wealthy. Herrings, also, were caught in large quantities off the coast. Many a Suffolk lord drew his rents in herrings, then the chief food of the people on fast-days and during the whole of Lent and even in the harvest-field. The Abbey of St. Edmund alone received as many as 145,000 herrings in rent every year. People sent horses and wagons long distances to fetch away the fish.

The country was for a time at peace, for the fear of Norse raiders ceased when Norman kings began to rule. The last of the Danish vikings were driven off from Norwich in 1065. The towns grew; Dunwich, although already troubled by incursions of the sea, more than doubled the number of its burgesses under the Conqueror, and built two new churches; and

William Malet made Eye into a market-town. Round the great monastery of St. Edmund increasing numbers of bakers, brewers, tailors, washerwomen, shoemakers and robemakers spread out in a widening circle; and the Abbey itself rang with the tools of workmen, brought in by Abbot Baldwin to make his English home rival his former monastery, the renowned French Abbey at Chartres.

With the newcomers, easy come was often easy go. The son and heir of Earl Ralf, another Earl Ralf, at his wedding feast at Exning, in 1075, plotted the overthrow of the Conqueror. 'Then was that bride-ale many men's bale.' Earl Ralf and his tenants were overthrown by the King's brother, the soldier-bishop Odo of Bayeux, and by Richard FitzGilbert of Clare. The King took back the earldom and rewarded his brother with the lordships of Little Bealings and Seckford by Woodbridge. Again, when it came to choosing between Duke Robert of Normandy and his brother, Henry I, Robert Malet preferred to leave his town of Eye and to go back to his father's old home in Normandy, while de Montfort left the despised Haughley and went on crusade to the Holy Land.

A new terror was growing up in the county. The fear of Norse invasions gave place to a continual dread of the Norman barons and their knights who strengthened themselves in castles at Eye and Haughley, at Walton, Framlingham and Bungay and at many a lesser place, preying upon their neighbours, and withdrawing to their castles for safety. These were not usually stone buildings. They were great mounts of earth, such as can still be seen at Haughley and Clare, and were surmounted by a palisade of wood.

FRAMLINGHAM CASTLE

Notice the mound on which stood the Bigods' Norman castle, and the brick building erected by the Howards in the fifteenth century.

The tenants of the barons and lords were obliged to do knights' service to their lords and to do watch and ward in the castles. The Abbot of St. Edmund himself ranked as a baron, and the knights of St. Edmund to whom he parcelled out his lands went to Norwich in bands of five for three months in each year to guard the King's castle there. Seven score men did watch and ward in turn at the castle of Eye. The dangers from unruly barons reached a climax under King Stephen. Most Suffolk laymen favoured Stephen, but the greatest of all, Hugh Bigod, played for his own hand. Bigod's father had received Framlingham from Henry I as a reward for his support, and Hugh twice swore fealty to Henry's daughter Matilda, but twice he broke his oath. Stephen gave him the earldom of Norfolk to make sure of his aid; but the new earl was often numbered among Stephen's opponents, and in 1153 he tried to hold Ipswich for Henry of Anjou.

It was the Church which in 1127 first recognised the cleavage, perhaps racial as well as physical, between East and West Suffolk, by dividing the county into two archdeaconries. The archdeaconry of Sudbury covered West Suffolk, the archdeaconry of 'Suffolk' was limited to East Suffolk. In most respects the county of Suffolk was still closely associated with the sister county of Norfolk. The Bigods, as earls of Norfolk, were almost as powerful in Suffolk as in their own county, and it was not until 1337 that the earldom of Suffolk was first created. The two counties had a single sheriff until Tudor times. Down to our own days they formed a single diocese, whose bishop by the end of the eleventh century had moved from Elmham to Thetford, and thence to Norwich.

[*By permission of Mr. Herbert Felton.*

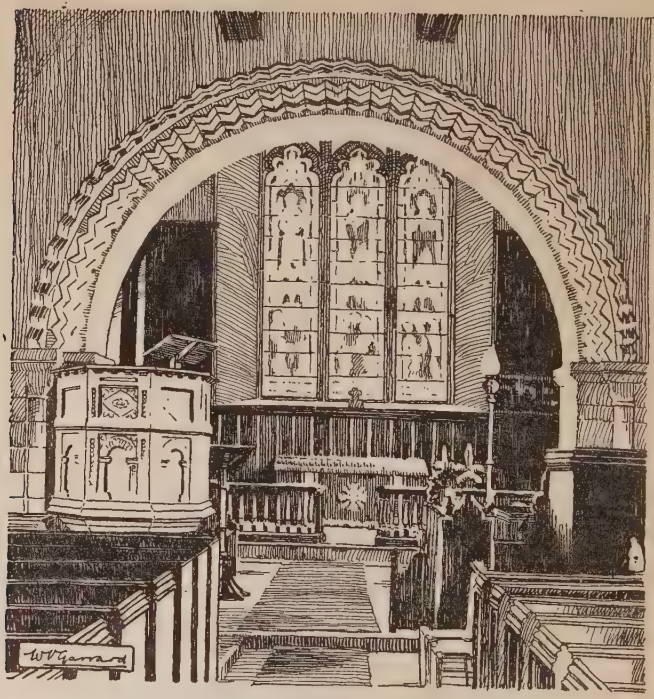
NORMAN TOWER, BURY ST. EDMUNDS

Built by Abbot Anselm (1121–46). Compare the simple arches with the later elaborate work in Eyke Church.

The great Abbey of St. Edmund dominated religious life in the West, and its influence was strong also in the East. No other Benedictine Abbey could find nourishment in the soil whose goodness the great tree of St. Edmund sucked up. Some small priories such as that at Edwardston withered at once. Other Benedictine houses, the chief at Eye, drew all their strength from a distant mother house either in some other county or in Normandy, and thrived best at a safe distance from St. Edmund's. The only house of Cistercians, a reformed order of St. Benedict, was founded at Sibton, on the extreme eastern edge of the county. Even Benedictine nunneries, with the exception of that which the monks of St. Edmund themselves founded at Thetford, were restricted to East Suffolk, at Bungay and at Redlingfield. In consequence, all the Benedictine houses in Suffolk, except the one great monastery, were small priories or cells. A few priories of Austin canons were also founded in Norman times. Of these Ixworth was destroyed in the wars almost immediately, but afterwards rebuilt; and the finest was that at Blythburgh, which was founded by Henry I himself.

It was not from its monasteries but from its amazing number of parish churches that the county had gained its name of 'Silly,' or 'Holy,' Suffolk. Between the reign of the Conqueror and the middle of the thirteenth century ninety new churches were added to those four hundred odd that existed when Domesday Survey was made (1086). The Norman newcomers rebuilt many of the old Saxon churches in addition to putting up new ones. So it is that to this day their work can still be seen scattered through the county.

Here and there, as at Wiston, almost a complete Norman church remains; but more often there is only a doorway or an arch rich in the 'dog-tooth' and



NORMAN ARCH IN EYKE CHURCH
The fine ornamentation is of the later 'Norman' workmanship, probably 1200 or after.

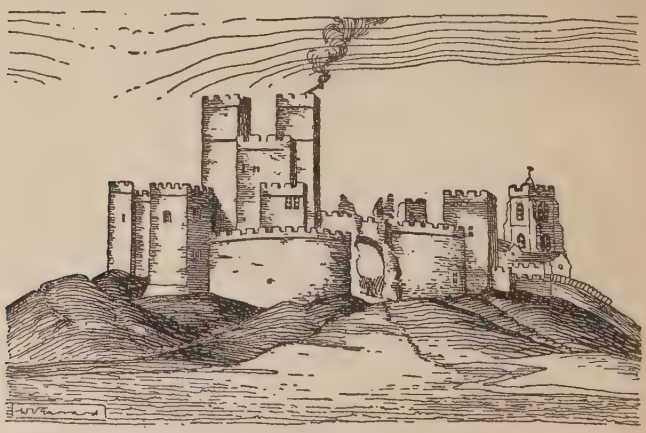
'billet' work by which we know the Norman craftsman. Amazing patience, skill and purposefulness went to produce these beautiful buildings in out-of-the-way parishes. Consider only the skill in man-hand-

ling, the toil and the seamanship needed to bring masses of the hard, heavy Caen stone from the Norman coast and up the Orwell in small sailing vessels, where they were, for instance, used for the font in which the children of St. Peter's, Ipswich, should be baptised for well-nigh a thousand years. Or think of the patience required to bring the slow barges laden with Barnak stone through the winding water-ways of the Fens and up the River Lark until they reached St. Edmundsbury, where skilled masons went on with their work, while all the county round was distraught by civil wars, and so set up that magnificent ' Norman ' Tower which is still the finest building in all Suffolk. The difficulties were yet greater when a single lord, or a few villagers, set themselves to bring the stone and find the workmen for the churches in such small inland parishes as Braiseworth. Yet, for all the hardness of the task, it is the village churches of Suffolk which retain the memory of the Normans' coming, while the barons' castles have long since disappeared, or else stand mere heaps of earth, whose very purpose is forgotten.

CHAPTER V

MEDIÆVAL SUFFOLK

THE King's justice gradually overcame the turbulence of the Norman barons. In Suffolk his justice was executed over a wide area through the



ORFORD CASTLE, 1172

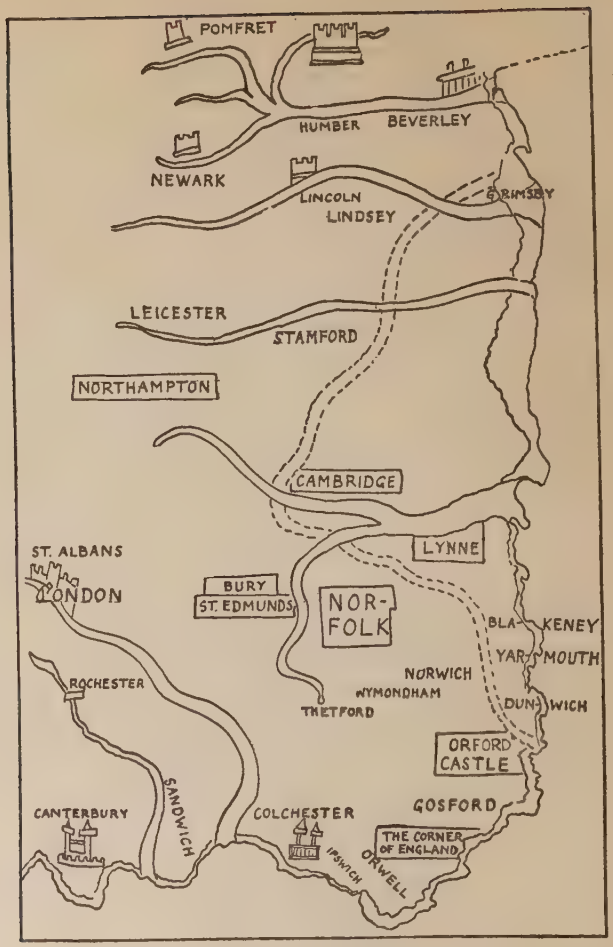
After a drawing by John Norden (1601). Notice the beacon on the keep, the only part still standing.

stewards of the two liberties of St. Edmund and St. Etheldreda, and by the King's own officer, the sheriff, in the remaining hundreds which made up the

'Geldable.' Henry II strengthened the royal power in Suffolk, keeping in his own hands the castles at Eye and Haughley, and building a new one at Orford. The garrison there guarded the coast, and also overawed the men of Framlingham and Bungay where Hugh Bigod, first Earl of Norfolk, had his castles.

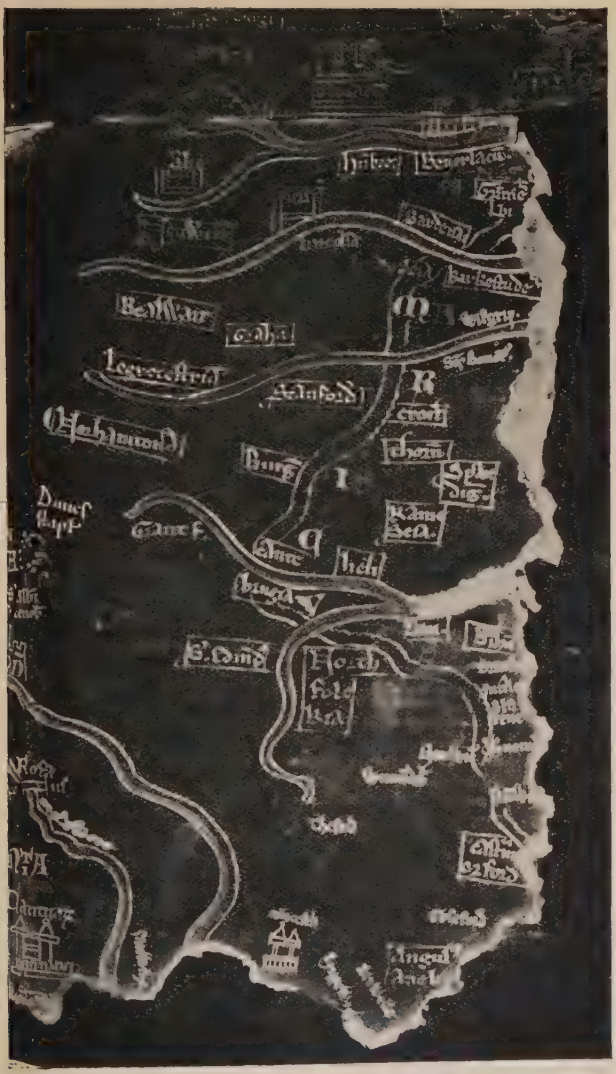
Bigod was the leader of the baronial party in Suffolk, and in 1173 he welcomed an army of Flemish mercenaries who were brought to Walton by the Earl of Leicester to support the cause of the younger Henry against his father, Henry II. The invaders forced an easy way past the scanty forces which were opposed to them under Sir William Tollemache of Bentley. Their success was checked at the newly completed castle at Orford. It had been built by the King's men, under Wimar, a useful priest, judge and sheriff, and under Robert de Valoignes and Bartholomew de Glanville, who with his brother the Justiciar, Ralph de Glanville, known as 'the King's eye,' was a native of Stratford St. Andrew. Norman engineers from Ipswich had just completed the outworks of Orford Castle, and a garrison of 75 men had been provisioned with wheat, bacon, salt and charcoal, when the Flemings attacked. They were beaten off, and leaving the castle in their rear they hastened westwards, attacking and taking a weaker castle at Haughley. By this time, Richard de Lucy had mustered the King's men and the forces of St. Edmund were in arms. They defeated Leicester at Fornham St. Genevieve. Bigod made his peace for a year; but he and his Flemings were out against the King again in 1174.

King Henry II himself was by this time free to turn eastwards. Bigod and his mercenaries were overcome.



KEY TO PLATE OF THE EARLIEST MAP

See the opposite page. The unnamed three-towered castle at the top is York.



THE EARLIEST MAP OF SUFFOLK

Drawn between 1173 and 1200, three hundred years before Saxton drew the first correct map of Suffolk. Notice Walton, between Gosford (Haven) and the Orwell, called ' The Corner of England ' ; and the road from Orford Castle through Norwich to Grimsby. The castles and road show that this was a military map. It is the first English map to mark a road, and may be connected with the building of Orford Castle.

Framlingham and Bungay were dismantled; Walton was taken by the King. Bigod died in the Holy Land whither he went as a pilgrim with his Flemish allies. The King had asserted his supremacy in Suffolk as well as in London. For the time, no Bigod could repeat the old rhyme:

> 'If I were in my castell of Bungeie,
> Upon the water of Wavenie,
> I wold not set a button
> By the King of Cockneie.'[1]

The county was left to the King's men, the Glanvilles and the de Valoignes, their kinsfolk by marriage. The great keep at Orford still stands to show their military genius. The remains of the monasteries which they founded at Butley, Campsea and Leiston still call to memory their piety.

The power of the barons revived during the long absence of Richard I, and the struggle with the King came to a crisis in the reign of King John. At St. Edmundsbury on 4 November, 1214, John conferred in vain with the great lords who refused to follow him overseas, or to pay the high 'scutage' which he demanded in place of service. The King withdrew. The barons and knights gathered together as for worship in the great church of the Abbey and there at the high altar took a solemn oath to withdraw their fealty and make war against the King unless he granted their demands. A Suffolk earl, Gilbert of Clare, led them, and his kinsman Robert FitzWalter became 'Marshal of the Army of God and of the Holy Church.'

[1] Although this rhyme is usually applied to the first Earl of Norfolk, it is more accurately attributed to the third Earl in the time of Henry III.

The barons dispersed to raise their forces, Roger de Cresci levying the men of Suffolk. The armed force with which the barons thus openly supported their claims went far towards obliging the King to set his

LITTLE WENHAM HALL
Built as a dwelling-house by the lord of the manor, about 1260.

seal to the Great Charter of English liberties at Runnymede in the following June.

The thirteenth century was a time of great promise in Suffolk. It was fulfilled in the prosperity of the

fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when this part of England became through its trade and its industry just as important as the industrial districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire are to-day. England's wealth was then drawn chiefly from its wool. The wide sheep-folds of St. Edmund in West Suffolk and the sheep-walks on the heaths of East Suffolk sent large quantities of wool to the Low Countries during the thirteenth century. Suffolk people began at length to weave cloth for sale, as well as for their own use. Bury began to do so in the twelfth century; Ipswich had followed by 1282. A new impetus was given to the industry when Philippa of Hainault, Queen to Edward III, introduced Flemish weavers in 1336. The coarse woollen cloths which took their name from the villages of Kersey and Lindsey in South Suffolk were shipped to Europe from all the southern ports of England. All over Suffolk weaving villages such as Fressingfield and Laxfield grew up; or the weavers congregated in larger towns like Sudbury and Stowmarket.

Suffolk ports, led by Dunwich and Ipswich, prospered through this trade. The townsfolk bought from the Plantagenet kings many valuable privileges, such as freedom from paying toll in other markets, or the right to govern themselves through their Merchant Gilds. Richard I gave charters of this kind to Ipswich and Orford; and King John gave new charters to Ipswich and Dunwich.

The ships from Suffolk ports traded in wool or woollen-cloth with Flanders, and brought back wines from the South of France. Suffolk merchants were thus able to provide Edward I and Edward II with large numbers of armed ships to carry men and victuals

for their Scottish and French wars. The vessels came from small harbours such as Gosford (the mouth of the Deben) as well as from the more important towns like Dunwich or Orford. The greatest naval expedition of the period set sail from Orwell Haven in 1340, when Edward III gathered there that fleet of 200 ships which was first to establish English supremacy on the seas by the battle of Sluys against the French.

The Suffolk coast-line was the coast for Flemish trade; and Flanders was then the trading centre of Europe. It was from Dordrecht that the wretched Queen Isabella landed with hired mercenaries from the Netherlands in September, 1326. She spent the night at Walton, and Suffolk landowners flocked to her standard as she marched westwards to seize the royal treasure at St. Edmundsbury and then to pursue and capture her husband, Edward II.

Ipswich was indeed a 'frontier towards the sea,' and Chaucer's merchant who

> 'Wolde the see were kept for any thinge
> Betwixe Middelburgh and Orewelle'

may well have been an Ipswich trader.

The prosperity of the county was reflected in its culture, in its works of art, and in the wealth bestowed upon its monasteries and churches. The wealthy abbey of St. Edmund, with its enormously long church surmounted by groves of towers, from which many peals of bells daily rang out the memory of its benefactors, became 'the glory and honour of Eastern England.' It had great doors of bronze, richly coloured windows, costly hangings and noble statues. Its shrines were plated with silver and gold and hung with the precious jewels left there by the pilgrims.

Its library contained more than 2,000 books, all written by hand, and many beautifully illuminated. Its abbot ranked as a baron and forty knights owed him service. His steward administered the King's justice through more than half the county.

The Benedictine monks of Bury were very jealous of the coming of any other religious orders to the county. Pope and King were called upon in 1238 to settle the dispute, when the monks tried to prevent the preaching (Dominican) and begging (Franciscan) friars from settling in Bury itself. The Dominicans gave way and made their chief Suffolk houses at Sudbury and Ipswich; the Franciscans at last obtained a grudging permission to settle at Babwell just outside Bury, where they could take alms from pilgrims entering the town from the north. Other friars settled at a discreet distance from the great Abbey. The Austin friars (an order quite distinct from the Austin canons) were introduced into England by Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester. The house and church which he gave them at Clare became noted as the burial-place of a Plantagenet princess, Joan of Acre, and later of the great prince Lionel Duke of Clarence, lord of Clare, whose wife had been buried with great state at the priory of Bruisyard.

Both the monks and the friars brought into the county a knowledge of learning and art. In all Europe there was nothing to equal the droll and vigorous drawings with which between 1250 and 1350 the monks at Bury or the Austin friars at Gorleston ornamented their psalters and other books. The friars of Clare could speak broad Suffolk, calling Coney Weston ' Canston,' and one of them, Osbern Bokenham, wrote

in the same dialect his legends of saintly women, for a little group of Suffolk ladies of noble birth. The courtly poet, John Lydgate, born at Lydgate in Suffolk,

THE MONKEY AND HARE PLAY THE ORGAN
From the Gorleston Psalter, early fourteenth century.

and a monk professed at Bury Abbey, complained of his birth

> 'in the partes
> Wherein my natyfe language is mooste corrupte,
> And with moost sondry tonges mixt and rupte.'

His long works are tedious reading for modern people, but he also wrote amusing little skits, such as the ballad on the high forked headdresses worn by fashionable women in his time.

'Cleryks recored, by gret auctoryté,
Hornes wer yove to bestys for dyffence;
A thing contrarye to femynté,
To be maad sturdy of resystence.
But arche wives, egre in ther vyolence,
Fers as tygres for to make affray
They have despit, and ageyn concyence
Lyst nat of pryde, then hornes cast away.'

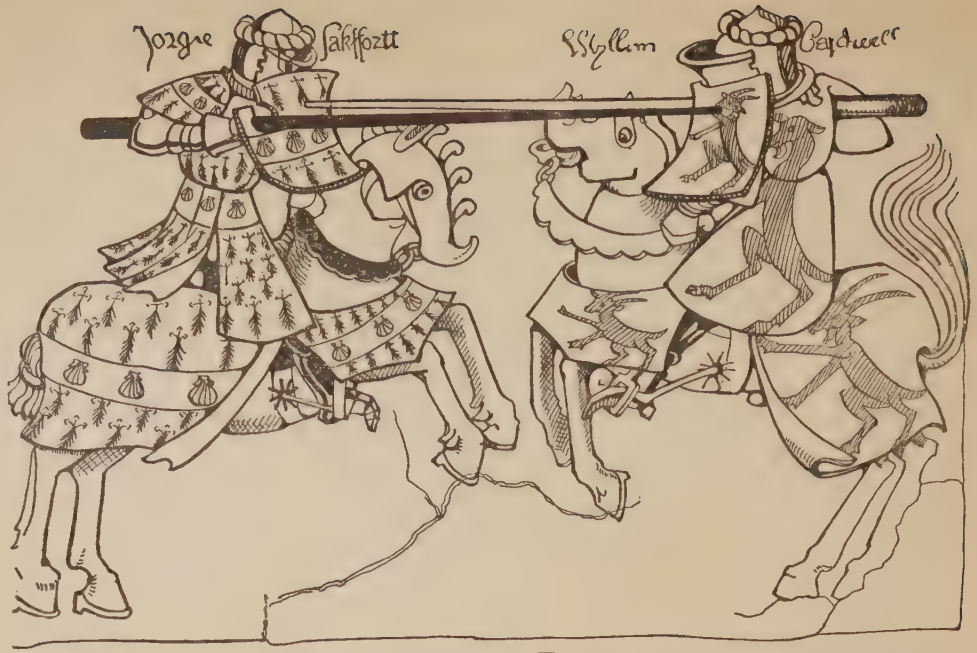
Lydgate was the disciple of Geoffrey Chaucer, the Father of all English Poetry, himself descended from Suffolk grandparents whose inns at Ipswich gave the name 'Tavern Street' to that town's chief highway.

A Horned Headdress

In the monasteries, novices learned to read and understand Latin. The merchant's sons at Bury, Thetford, Ipswich or Dunwich also had their schools, where they learned to read and were taught Latin grammar through the psalter and the service book, just as in later days the dame schools taught reading by the Bible. In some places, such as the college of priests at Stoke-by-Clare, the boys were taught plain-song and descant, as well as instrumental music, so that they might help to make the church services more beautiful.

Mediæval Suffolk was thus bright with culture, as well as with prosperity; but this is only one side of the picture. There were some very dark days. Whole

villages perished in the Black Death of 1349. The scanty remnant of the people were forced by ancient custom to toil on the fields of their lords, when they could have gained a much higher wage by going away to work in the towns. Bond-tenants who had left Walton manor, for instance, were caught in Ipswich and ignominiously returned, or heavily fined. The craftsmen's wages also were strictly limited. The early glory of Edward III's French wars was overcast by a cloud of heavy taxation. Rightly or wrongly, men then, as now, blamed the government of the day for all misfortunes. In London, the Kentish rioters of 1381 dragged the Suffolk Lord Chancellor, Simon of Sudbury, from the Tower, and beheaded him on Tower Hill. His head still remains in St. Gregory's church at Sudbury, his birthplace. The rebels of Sudbury first attacked the avaricious farmer of the customs, Richard Lyons, and then turned upon the judge, Sir John de Cavendish, who was murdered at Lakenheath. They hated him for his enforcement of the Statutes of Labourers, which prevented them from working where and how they wished. Everywhere men rose against their particular enemies. The men of Ipswich set upon the tax-collector and the archdeacon, who was an alien. The men of Bury rose against the monks. The prior of St. Edmund was pursued and murdered on Mildenhall Heath, and the townsmen chose an abbot of their own. Mettingham Castle and many another manor-house was attacked. The court-rolls recording the hated manorial customs were burned in front of the church at East Bergholt, and in many other manors. Leaders of all kinds sprang up, a Dutchman at



SUFFOLK KNIGHTS IN A TOURNAMENT

George Seckford (East Suffolk) tilts with William Bardwell (West Suffolk), possibly before the young King Henry VI, near Bury, 1433–4. (Harl. MS. 4205.)

Lowestoft, two local squires at Bury, and several poor parsons and chaplains in various villages. After a fortnight of anarchy, the Earl of Suffolk arrived at Bury with 500 lances to put down the rebellion. The ringleader, John Wrawe, a chaplain of Sudbury, was executed, and the county quieted gradually.

This was the one great disturbance in Suffolk, for the civil wars of the fifteenth century troubled this county very little. Henry VI's uncle, Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, died under arrest at Bury when Parliament was sitting there in 1447, and his servants were charged with conspiring to make him king. His enemy, William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, was accused of his death, and becoming unpopular was murdered in a boat off Dover in 1450.

When open war broke out between the houses of Lancaster and York, the retainers of the Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk in the north of the county stood for the Yorkists, the King's tenants in his 'honour' of Clare, and the men of the Earl of Oxford around Lavenham in the south were for Lancaster. The shipbuilders of Orford made vessels for the Yorkists; but of actual fighting in Suffolk there was none. Suffolk people carried on their industries quietly. Trade prospered, and the long trading voyages to Denmark and Iceland which merchants of Ipswich had begun to make at the end of the fourteenth century became more frequent.

It was just at this time, when a great part of England was suffering from civil war, that the people of Suffolk added to their parish churches those noble towers, wide aisles, and beautiful flint panels, by which the county is still best known to outsiders. Some of these

great churches belonged to the ten small priories of Austin canons, which had long been established at Blythburgh, Woodbridge, and elsewhere in East Suffolk. Some lay in purely agricultural districts, such as Mildenhall, which has perhaps the finest church

A Mediæval Joke

The fox preaches to the geese. From a corner-post in Foundation Street, Ipswich.

of all because of its great size. Many owe their beauty to wealthy clothiers such as the Springs of Lavenham or the Martyns of Long Melford. Still more were beautified by the combined efforts of the parishioners, by the parish gilds which in Suffolk were unusually

numerous, or by the gifts of ordinary men and women, given out of pure devotion, or—as in the case of William Cady, who paid to make Rushmere's steeple as big as Tuddenham's—from a feeling of friendly rivalry with neighbouring villages.

The best craftsmanship that could be secured was lavished upon these churches. The abundant woods of High Suffolk provided timber for the carvings which adorn the churches of a whole strip of the county lying between Lavenham and the coast. Native and Fleming craftsmen showed their joy in their work when they carved such little jokes as the fox preaching to the geese on the *miserere* seats of Framsden, or drew the realistic columbines in the church windows at Gislingham, or ornamented the walls at Troston with figures of St. George and St. Christopher. The best needlework was given too; and at Hessett there still remains a pyx-veil whose drawn thread work is some of the finest in all the world.

[*By permission of Mr H. I. Jarman.*

MILDENHALL CHURCH

A typical Suffolk church of the fifteenth century

CHAPTER VI

TUDOR SUFFOLK

UNDER the Tudor sovereigns, the old order of things died out in a splendid pageantry, in which Suffolk played a considerable part.

The new Duke of Suffolk, Charles Brandon, who lived at Westhorpe Hall, was a type of the brilliant men of the time. His handsome looks and personal valour gained for him the hand of Mary Tudor, sister to Henry VIII; and she paid her brother for the marriage with the jewels and money bestowed upon her by her former husband, King Louis XII of France. She died at Westhorpe and was buried at Bury St. Edmunds.

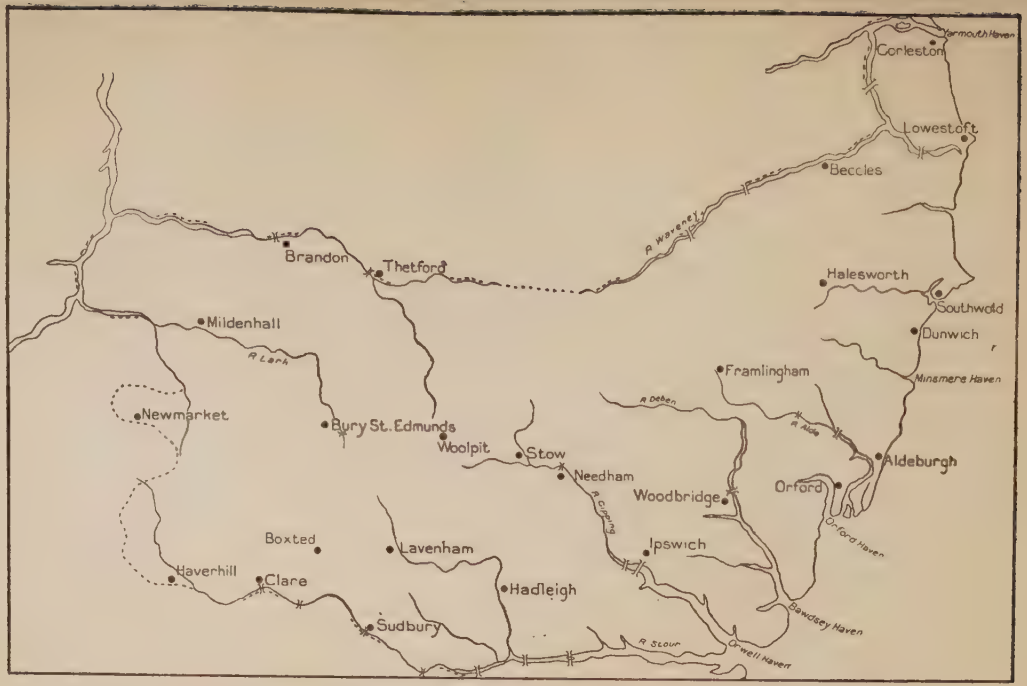
The Duke of Suffolk's splendour in such pageants as the Field of the Cloth of Gold was outshone by that of the great statesman, churchman and chancellor, Thomas Wolsey. Cardinal Wolsey sprang from a tradesman's family in Ipswich. At the beginning of his career, he was for a short time rector of Redgrave, but his connexion with Suffolk was slight during those years when, as the chief statesman in the court of Henry VIII, he supported the King's attempts at making the power of England paramount among the countries of Europe. The cost of the new policy and of the wars which it involved fell heavily upon the

rank and file of the people. Large taxes made it impossible for the Suffolk clothiers to keep their workmen employed. In 1525, the wool-workers of South-west Suffolk rose by the thousand against the tax for a new war with France. Shakespeare, in his *Henry VIII*, describes how

> . . . 'Upon these taxations
> The clothiers all, not able to maintain
> The many to them 'longing, have put off
> The spinsters, carders, fullers, weavers, who
> Unfit for other life, compell'd by hunger
> . . . are all in uproar.'

The Duke of Suffolk could not persuade the local forces to attack their fellow-countrymen. It was the reasoning of their masters, Spring of Lavenham and his brother-in-law Sir Thomas Jermyn, which brought the insurgents literally to their knees, to crave pardon in their shirts; and Wolsey himself stood surety for their future good behaviour.

He was then planning to found 'Cardinal' (now Christ Church) College at Oxford, with a dependent school at Ipswich. These were to provide men trained in the new learning of the time and fit to be priests in a church reformed from within. Wolsey's childhood must have made him well acquainted with the need for some such reform. In West Suffolk the Abbey of St. Edmund stood rather for worldly wealth than for spiritual power. The law courts at Ipswich, where Wolsey's own father often paid the penalty for bad trading in his business as a victualler and butcher, had long been trying week by week numerous charges of assault and worse offences continually brought against the friars and



MAP OF TUDOR SUFFOLK (after Saxton, 1579). Notice the importance of the waterways.

chaplains in the town. The many small priories scattered through Suffolk had fallen away from their first ideals. Wolsey took seven of these small houses to endow his school at Ipswich; but just as the flock there was increasing hourly in the incomplete buildings where Wolsey's school was to replace the priory of St. Peter's, the great founder fell, partly through the ungrateful jealousy of the Duke of Suffolk. A commission sitting at Woodbridge decided that all the school's endowments should be forfeit to the King.

People thus learned how easy it was to take away the wealth of the abbeys, and there was a general scramble for their lands. First, in 1536, the smaller monasteries were suppressed, and the Duke of Suffolk bought those at Eye and Leiston, while the Duke of Norfolk purchased Bungay Priory. Then royal 'visitors,' themselves ex-friars, were sent down to 'inquire' into the friaries at Dunwich, Ipswich and Gorleston. These too were suppressed, and the houses where the Suffolk friars had lived mostly passed into the hands of the King's own officers. Finally, the larger abbeys, such as Bruisyard nunnery, gave up all that they had to the King. With them fell the great monastery of St. Edmund, which was surrendered by Abbot John Reeve in November, 1539. He died broken-hearted at Bury, and the site of the abbey was eventually bought by John Eyre, one of the King's officials. There were great differences in the yearly incomes of the religious houses thus suppressed in Suffolk. The greatest of all, St. Edmund's Abbey, was worth nearly £2,340 a year, and one-third of them exceeded £200 in value; but two-thirds of the Suffolk

monasteries were comparatively poor, and one of them, at Sudbury, received only £10 a year.

Many of these changes were made without thought for the future. Because so many Suffolk priories belonged to the order of the Austin canons, who served their own parish churches, many Suffolk churches were left without any sufficient endowment for their clergy. And again, when Edward VI's Council suppressed the numerous chantries and gilds in Suffolk, the property seized by the Crown included also many endowments for teaching poor boys and the like. The lands which had belonged to the abbeys and chantries were bought by London merchants and others, who took this opportunity for making themselves new country homes, and began to form a new class of country gentleman. So Henry VIII's merchant friend and executor, Sir Thomas Kytson, bought Hengrave and built the fine Tudor hall which still stands there. The fashion in building spread among the older families also; thus the Tollemaches built another fine hall at Helmingham about this time.

Suffolk is one of the gateways from the Continent, and through it entered many of the new ideas of this time, especially the doctrines of the great religious reformers, Luther, Calvin and Zwingli. At first, it was the Ipswich merchants who smuggled in new books, many of which were printed at Antwerp. Then the Netherland printers, such as the Fleming, Reginald Oliver, began to publish books in Ipswich itself. Under Henry VIII, Protestant books were brought in surreptitiously, for the King punished severely those whose doctrines differed from his own. Thomas Bilney, one of the 'Christian brethren' who spread

Tyndale's teaching through Suffolk, was burned at Norwich in 1531, and two Mendlesham men were burned, the one at Bury, the other at Ipswich, in 1546, for denying the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Under Edward VI, when the extreme Reformers were in power, two aliens, Scoloker and Oswen, were able to set up printing presses at Ipswich and to issue the works of Luther and Calvin; by 1576 John Olyver or Vytar, a Fleming, had joined this little colony of book-makers and book-sellers, which gathered round the old site of the Carmelite Priory in the Butter Market, Ipswich.

Protestant teaching was spread by these means, and by the zeal of such men as John Bale, a Carmelite friar who had been born at Cove. He attacked abuses in the Church by means of his morality plays, as well as by coarse and bitter writings; but his great and lasting work was a history of English literature, of which one edition was published at Ipswich in 1548. Some men there were, such as the soldier-poet Surrey, who brought into the county the new culture which accompanied the new doctrines. It was, however, the religious changes which were strongest here. It was perhaps natural that 'Silly' Suffolk, with its numerous churches and its gilds and chantries in almost every village, should be most earnest in its support of the Protestant Reformation.

Yet when the Protestant king, Edward VI, died, and his Roman Catholic sister Mary raised her standard at Framlingham, Suffolk, men crowded to her support, though they much mistrusted her religion. The county rapidly became a stronghold of the Puritan doctrines, for which some Suffolk men, such as Dr. Rowland

ILLVSTRIVM
MAIORIS BRITANNIAE
SCRIPTORVM, HOC EST, ANGLIAE, CAMBRIAE,
ac Scotiæ Summariũ, in quasdam centurias diuisum, cum diuersitate doctrinarũ atq; annorũ recta supputatione per omnes ætates a Iapheto sanctißimi Noah filio, ad annum domini. M. D. XLVIII.

AVTORE IOANNE BALAEO SVDOVOLCA.

EXCVDEBATVR PRAESENS OPVS, ANNO A NATIVItate unicæ illius pro peccatis ultimæ, patri in crucem oblatæ, quadragesimo octa supra millesimum & quingentesimum, pridie Calendas Augusti.

Sit lingua mea. calamus scribæ veluciter scribentis: ps. 44° 2°

Robt wright

THE FIRST BOOK PUBLISHED AT IPSWICH (1548)

Title-page of John Bale's Summary of the Illustrious Writers of Greater Britain, with woodcut showing Bale giving the book to Edward VI.

Taylor at Hadleigh and John Noyes, a shoemaker of Laxfield, laid down their lives during the Marian persecutions. Under Queen Elizabeth men thronged to the lectures on market days at Ipswich. Sermons were endowed in place of masses for the soul, and poor men were induced to honour the dead by foundation of almshouses, instead of by doles at the giver's yearly commemoration. The new teaching penetrated the new schools at Ipswich, Bury, and elsewhere. Justices of the peace controlled the poor; whereas the monasteries had given indiscriminate alms. The new powers of the magistrates are typified by Thomas Seckford's sessions house, erected in the market-place at Woodbridge for the sessions of St. Etheldreda which had formerly been held at Melton. While all these changes were made locally, there was also growing up centrally the new method of government through great lay statesmen. To these, Suffolk contributed the son of a sheep-reeve of Bury Abbey, Nicholas Bacon, who became Lord Keeper of the Great Seal to Queen Elizabeth and was father of the still more illustrious Sir Francis Bacon.

Alongside all these changes in thought and in government, there came very considerable changes in the clothes which people wore. The old thick cloth, for which Suffolk was famous, was replaced by thinner materials, some of which were nevertheless called 'perpetuanas' to make men hope that they would wear for ever. The new *bays* and *says* were woven at Sudbury by Dutchmen who fled from religious persecutions to Protestant Suffolk. The wars which distraught the Netherlands at the end of the sixteenth century began to deprive Suffolk of the chief market for her cloth, and her towns began to lose their

THE ARMADA OFF SUFFOLK, JULY, 1588
From a map published in 1590, and now in the British Museum

prosperity. Suffolk seaports, too, spent much of their energy in disputing with their neighbours. The townsmen of Bury, who in 1327 had been ready to rise in arms against their masters at the Abbey, were so apathetic that almost a century passed between the suppression of the Abbey and their first charter from the Crown.

The county's enterprise, however, was not entirely dead. Shipbuilding increased, and Ipswich sent to Woolwich more men than any other port but Dartmouth, for the building of the first great ship of Henry VIII's navy, the 'Henry Grace de Dieu.' Suffolk provided ships and sailors and sent some men to Stratford-le-Bow to guard against the great Spanish Armada in 1588; but the county's chief contribution was in butter and cheese for victualling the fleet.

For some time Suffolk men had made the 'long voyage' to Iceland; now they began to venture to the East. John Eldred, a merchant, who sprang from a Knettishall family, traded from London to Bagdad for spices, travelling in 'Babylon' with an enormous caravan of camels. He amassed a large fortune with which he built at Great Saxham the mansion called 'Nutmeg Hall.' John Foxe of Woodbridge served as a gunner on a merchant ship which the Turks captured in the Mediterranean in 1563. For fourteen long years he served in their galleys all the summer and starved in their prisons all the winter, until at length he planned the escape of 266 fellow-prisoners of divers nations, and brought them safely back to Europe.

Thomas Cavendish of Grimston Hall ventured westwards, and in 1585, in a ship of his own, joined Sir

Walter Raleigh's first unfortunate attempt to plant a colony in Virginia. Next year he imitated Sir Francis Drake in sailing round the world, and one of his companions, Mr. Francis Pretty, of Eye, described this 'prosperous voyage into the South Sea'; but Cavendish squandered a fortune at court, and filled Trimley with swashbucklers who terrified the neighbourhood, until he died at sea, brokenhearted at the failure of a third voyage, by which he had hoped to retrieve his fortunes.

The stories of such adventures were gathered together by the first English geographer, Richard Hakluyt, who became rector of Wetheringsett in 1590 and spent his time there in arranging a great book of tales, far more exciting than any written by Henty or Marryat. It was the age too when Englishmen were learning to make good maps. Christopher Saxton, who belonged to the household of Thomas Seckford, of Bealings, made the first complete series of maps of the counties of England, and Ralph Agas of Stoke-by-Nayland, a land-surveyor, worked about the same time on bird's-eye views; but it was John Norden who made many surveys in Suffolk for his patron Sir Michael Stanhope, and first made exactly measured maps of England from his surveys.

The Tudor period was thus a time of hard work, new thoughts and great ventures, and in these many Suffolk men took their part.

CHAPTER VII

STUART SUFFOLK

THE independent yeomen and traders of Suffolk were just the class of people who would most readily resent the autocratic rule of the Stuart kings, and the attempts of the bishops to tighten up discipline in the Church. The popular lecturers, such as John Knewstubbs of Cockfield and Dr. Samuel Ward of Ipswich, encouraged their hearers to question the authority both of the Church and the State. Discontent was also growing in the county because it was losing its former place among the most prosperous districts in England. The market for Suffolk cloth in the Low Countries continued to diminish. English merchants too were only allowed to trade if they belonged to one of the chartered companies, such as the Eastlanders who had a 'house' at Ipswich. The Bury clothiers who tried to reorganise weaving in West Suffolk, and the Ipswich merchants, who did the like in East Suffolk, only succeeded in strangling the industry by their restrictions. Suffolk ceased to weave cloth in any quantity, and in the old flourishing weaving villages women and children made a meagre living from the spinning of yarn for the weavers of Norwich.

Many Suffolk families were driven to try their

fortunes in the New World, following the example of the Pilgrim Fathers, and hoping to be able to worship as they wished, and to get a better livelihood under different conditions. Their first leader was John Winthrop of Groton, who had been born at Edwardston and educated at Bury St. Edmunds. He sprang from a family of Lavenham clothworkers, and he and his father, Adam Winthrop of Groton, were lawyers. Several shiploads of emigrants, including many small yeomen and labourers from the Groton district, sailed with John Winthrop in March, 1630, when he went out to the new colony of Massachusetts as its first governor. His son John, who had been educated at Bury, and afterwards became governor of the younger colony of Connecticut, founded the New England town called Ipswich. The emigrants to Massachusetts and Connecticut gave to the names of many places the name of their old Suffolk homes, such as Wenham and Sudbury, and right across the harbour of Boston, Massachusetts, stretches the County of Suffolk in the New World. Timothy Dalton, a Puritan minister of Wolverstone, set out with another large body of emigrants in 1633, and many followed from villages such as Fressingfield, where the weaving industry was on the decline.

Local discontent grew when taxation became heavy, and the King's officers made unreasonable demands for provisions for his household. In 1639, Puritan Suffolk refused to provide coats for the men who were raised there to fight the Scottish Covenanters, or to send ships with food for the King's army. The Suffolk troops, themselves, mutinied at Bungay, and spent their time discovering witches and sitting in judgment upon

their neighbours' morals. When the collectors of 'shipmoney' tried to raise the contributions from Suffolk landowners in 1640, they gathered 'chiefly innumerable groans and sighs.' Finally, when the actual break came between King and Parliament in 1642, Suffolk people, almost to a man, joined the Parliamentary side.

Oliver Cromwell, afterwards the Lord Protector, organised at Cambridge the 'Eastern Association for Defence against Papists.' A committee of this Association, sitting at Bury, practically governed the whole of Suffolk. Ipswich was fortified against the Royalist fleet. Lowestoft alone proclaimed itself for the King, chiefly from jealousy for its Parliamentarian neighbour, Yarmouth; but it offered no resistance when Cromwell arrived to carry off the ringleaders, who included the vicar. Once only, during the Civil Wars, Suffolk Royalists attempted a general rising, when Bury, Aldeburgh and Lothingland went over to the King in 1648. The attempt failed, and the Parliamentarians regained the upper hand, almost without bloodshed. The only real difficulty experienced by their leaders was in persuading Suffolk men to go out of their county to fight against the Royalists elsewhere. After King Charles had been executed in 1649, his lands were sold to pay for the cost of the late war. In Suffolk, the royal estates then sold included the large monastic manors at Bury St. Edmunds and Eye, as well as such lesser properties as Earl's Horham manor and Shimpling Park.

It was under the Protector Cromwell that the English navy first became formidable. Suffolk was then an important centre for shipbuilding, and it also

manufactured the special canvas used for the sails of the men-of-war.

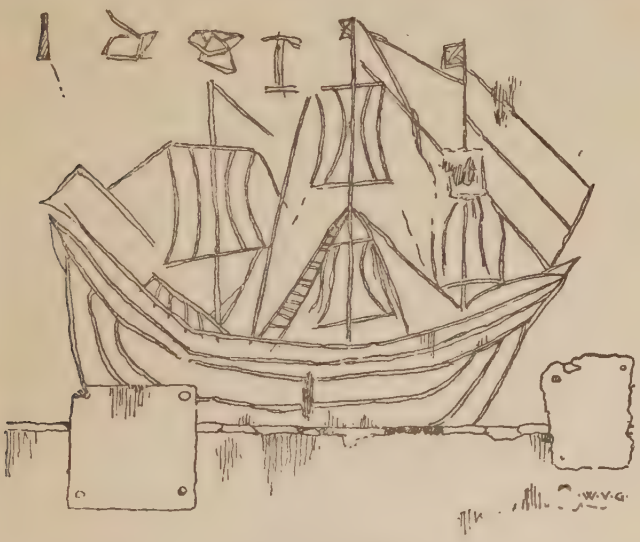
The first two royal warships which were made in Suffolk were built at Woodbridge in 1650, by Peter Pett, one of a notable family of shipwrights, who for generations made their ships from the then bountiful timber of 'High Suffolk.' In the next year, Parliament, having finally defeated the Royalist forces at Worcester, turned its energies against a foreign rival, Holland, with whom England long disputed the carrying trade and the herring fisheries, both of particular importance to the seafaring people of Suffolk.

At the outset of the First Dutch War in 1652, Admiral Blake destroyed the Dutch herring fleet in the North Sea, and the Orwell became a naval base. In 1653 the English fleet sighted the Dutch off the Gabard (near Orford Ness) at the beginning of the battle of North Foreland in which the sea was cleared of the Dutch. Blake was severely wounded and was brought ashore at Walberswick, where he recovered, although he found there little comfort and no skilled attention.

In Suffolk the Restoration of the Stuart King Charles II in 1660 affected chiefly the religious life of the people. The Puritans, who had been supreme during the Commonwealth, lost their authority. The Royalist and Episcopalian clergy who had been ousted from their livings were restored. A large number of the Suffolk clergy, including many able and learned men, would not accept the revised Prayer Book of 1662, or go back upon the oath which they had taken in the Solemn League and Covenant. After ten years of suppression, they were allowed to set up those

Nonconformist meeting-houses which now exist in almost every Suffolk village.

Meantime, the dispute with Holland for supremacy at sea was continued. In 1665, during the Second Dutch War, the Duke of York (afterwards James II) defeated the Dutch fleet off Lowestoft and landed



A Dutch Ship

Drawn on the wall of Melton Gaol by a prisoner of war, 1681.

over 2,000 prisoners, who were kept at Ipswich and in other Suffolk towns. Three Dutch admirals, next year, attacked Landguard Fort, which had been strengthened to defend the new dockyard at Harwich. Only De Ruyter, however, succeeded in landing; for many of the vessels ran aground because the English had removed all the sea-marks. The Landguard gar-

rison drove off De Ruyter's troops. During the Third Dutch War, the Duke of York fought an indecisive battle with De Ruyter about eight miles out from Sole Bay and within sight of Aldeburgh in 1672. The smoke from this action trailed thickly along the Suffolk and Essex coast; but the Dutch got safely away, and the English losses included the admiral, Edward Montagu, Earl of Sandwich, whose Suffolk home was at Shrubland Park.

Sole Bay has almost ceased to exist, because the sea constantly wears away this part of the coast. During the seventeenth century a new effort was made to put up lighthouses and landmarks for the coasting vessels which carried coals from Newcastle to London. In the Middle Ages such ships had been guided by means of high towers on the coast, such as those of Southwold church or Orford Castle. In 1609 a proper lighthouse was built at the entrance to the Stamport channel at Lowestoft, and thenceforward the brethren of Trinity House and others set up lighthouses, which at first burnt only candles or great coal-fires.

During this century, many Suffolk houses were rebuilt with much ornamentation. Even the small cottagers made simple patterns on their plaster walls. Wealthier people, such as Robert Sparrow the grocer who rebuilt the Ancient House at Ipswich about 1670, ornamented the outside walls with heavy mouldings, depicting tales from the Classics, such as the Labours of Hercules. The same stories were painted on the panels inside the house of another grocer, Thomas Macro, who rebuilt the Cupola House at Bury about 1690. Large country mansions were also rebuilt upon

Classical lines. One of these was Euston Hall, the 'palace' upon which a large fortune was spent by Lord Arlington, one of the members of the committee or 'Cabal' which advised Charles II on foreign affairs, and afterwards developed into the modern Cabinet.

John Evelyn, the Diarist, when he visited Euston Hall in 1677, was carried off for diversion to Ipswich, where the Corporation entertained their noble visitors with dried sweetmeats and wine, and much ringing of bells. He thought Ipswich 'for building, cleanness and good order, one of the best towns in England,' and was amazed not to see a single beggar asking alms in the street. This was the more remarkable because Suffolk trade was then at a low ebb, and the workhouses were filled with poor, unemployed weavers. Ipswich men, however, encouraged by the philanthropist Thomas Firmin, made special efforts to provide work not only for the native poor, but also for a number of Huguenots who fled there from religious persecution in France. One of the schemes was to bring weavers from Norwich to instruct both the poor in the Ipswich workhouse and the Protestant refugees. Another plan was to introduce French linen-weavers to teach the people to make a better kind of sail-cloth than the 'poldavis' which had long been made in Suffolk. Neither of these schemes succeeded; but some time later a colony of Huguenots settled at Ipswich and made 'lustring,' a stout, plain silk much in fashion for a time.

Suffolk was on the whole ready to accept the Revolution of 1688–89. A few only of the 'Norfolk' Regiment, which James II had just formed to increase

his standing army, adhered to their founder. Most of this regiment, which afterwards became the 'Twelfth' or 'Suffolk' Regiment, stood for William of Orange, and took part in the Battle of the Boyne and in his conquest of Ireland. A number of the Suffolk clergy, however, could not find it in their conscience to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, as they had already done so to James II. These 'Nonjurors' followed the example of the learned and saintly Archbishop Sancroft, who gave up his preferments and retired to his native village of Fressingfield, where he ended his days living a simple and studious life in seclusion.

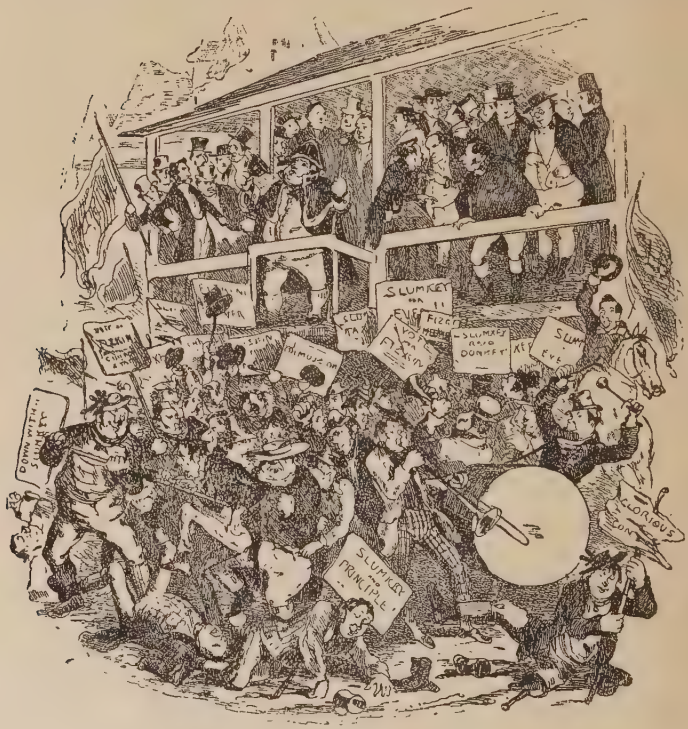
CHAPTER VIII

INDUSTRIAL CHANGES

SUFFOLK, by the end of the eighteenth century, had entirely lost that place near the head of the industrial counties of England which the cloth-trade had given to it in the Middle Ages. The weaving of cloth died first. Then went the spinning, by which many made a living in their own cottages, until the use of coal and the growth of spinning-mills built up in the North of England a rival with which Suffolk could not compete. The first attempts to set up new industries in place of the old ones failed. The Lustring Company at Ipswich, for instance, went under in the wave of speculation which swept over England at the time of the South Sea Bubble. Later attempts were more successful. The silk-makers of Spitalfields found a large supply of cheap labour at Haverhill, Glemsford and Sudbury, where they put up new factories; and some of the old cloth-looms in the Lavenham cottages were converted for the manufacture of that ugly but durable horsehair which was used so much for upholstery in the Victorian period.

Yet the Suffolk towns, especially the coast-towns, continued to go downhill. The old prosperous port of Dunwich vanished entirely into the sea, and shingle-banks blocked the river-mouths at Aldeburgh and

Orford. The small towns still clung to their old privileges, and the very few freemen or burgesses in each jealously guarded their old rights of sending



THE ELECTION AT EATANSWILL

Said to be Sudbury. The illustration by 'Phiz' for the edition of Dickens's 'Pickwick Papers,' 1836–7, about seven years before Sudbury was disfranchised for corruption.

members to Parliament, often treasuring their votes because they could get large sums of money for them. The rest of the townspeople were beginning, like the

people of France in the French Revolution, to demand equal rights with their neighbours. So the people of Sudbury laid siege to their corporation in the town-hall, where a battle-royal was fought with the fire-buckets as ammunition. Men wanted their freedom, but had not yet learned to respect other people's. The two knights of the shire were chosen for Suffolk by the 40*s*. freeholders influenced by the Dukes of Grafton from Euston, and the Earls of Bristol from Ickworth. Aldeburgh, Orford and Dunwich, mere villages, sent members to Parliament, as well as the towns of Ipswich, Bury, Sudbury and Eye.

The Aldeburgh poet, George Crabbe, who described all the details of Suffolk life at this time, tells of the riots and ill-feeling in election time, saying:

> 'Yes, our Election's past, and we've been free,
> Somewhat as madmen without keepers be;
> And such desire of Freedom has been shown,
> That both the parties wish'd her all their own:
> All our free smiths and cobblers in the town
> Were loth to lay such pleasant freedom down;
> To put the bludgeon and cockade aside,
> And let us pass unhurt and undefied.'

Those in authority, including the magistrates, dreaded that the new ideas which were growing in politics and religion might drive the English people to the excesses committed in the French reign of terror. Hence they opposed everything new, including the Wesleyan religious revival, which was nevertheless welcomed on the whole by Puritan Suffolk; and they aided such mobs as the Lavenham rabble who, with flags flying and drums beating, threatened in the name of the Church and the King to burn down the house of the peaceful, but dissenting, artist

Isaac Taylor, father of the mild Jane Taylor who wrote 'Twinkle, twinkle, little star.' As a result of such ill-feeling, a new stream of Suffolk emigrants began to flow towards North America, for the colonies there had broken away from England and were regarded as the land of freedom. These men were driven out by two motives, like those who had gone out two centuries before; they longed for liberty, and they hoped also for a better livelihood.

It was the good farming of the Suffolk freeholders which saved Suffolk from complete poverty, when she finally lost the wool-trade. Arthur Young of Great Bradfield, a noted agriculturist, pointed this out, when he said in 1804 that the Suffolk farmers who owned their own farms were particularly numerous and rich, and that the large freehold farms of Suffolk were notable for their good husbandry. Suffolk farmers showed enterprise in breeding stock suited for the new demands. They bred the black-faced Suffolk sheep with its shorter legs to feed on roots, instead of the long-legged sheep which had formerly wandered long distances over Suffolk heaths. In 1760 was foaled the horse which became the ancestor of all those fine farm-horses now known as Suffolk punches. Large quantities of butter, cheese and corn were sent to the London market, for London was growing rapidly, and until the railways came it had to depend upon neighbouring counties, such as Suffolk, for food-supplies. Many of the provisions were sent by sea, and the roads at Michaelmas and Christmas-time were covered by great flocks of geese and turkeys, which were driven slowly up to town.

Better means were needed for bringing Suffolk

produce to market. So the county became noted for its good roads, which were mostly made up by companies who repaid themselves from the money collected at numerous toll-houses, of which a few, such as the one on the Bredfield road just outside Woodbridge, still remain. Navigation companies, too, tried to improve the rivers, such as the Lark, the Blythe and the Stour, which were beginning to silt up. The coach-roads also were improved for the benefit of the travellers, and new villages, like Melton, grew up alongside the new roads.

Local smiths, although both fuel and metal had to be imported, set up factories for making the implements needed by the farmers. Thus the Garretts at Leiston, who for generations had been smiths of one kind or another, set up works for agricultural implements there in 1778, and others followed at Wickham Market and Ipswich. Starting from small beginnings these works grew in importance during the nineteenth century, manufacturing for export as well as for the English market. It was the position of the county which aided in this; and other industries, like the manufacture of china from a peculiar kind of clay at Lowestoft between 1753 and 1803, benefited by the previous existence of shipping, and by the good market on the Continent.

During the reigns of the Hanoverian kings, intercourse between England and the German States was considerable, and many Hanoverian soldiers lived in the barracks which were built for them in Suffolk. Suffolk soldiers, too, fought on the Continent. The Twelfth Foot formed the centre of the English line and suffered more than any other regiment at Dettingen

in 1743, when for the last time an English king took personal command. The regiment also played a very important part in 1759 at Minden, one of the greatest of the English victories in the Seven Years' War. For three and a half years, from 1779 to 1783, they helped to hold the fortress of Gibraltar against the Spanish forces, and thus they earned the castle on their badge. It was then that they began to be called the East Suffolk Regiment. Later, in 1799, they took part in the storming of Seringapatam, one of the chief battles in the English struggle with France for supremacy in India. During the French wars, in the time of Napoleon Buonaparte, fears of French invasion ran high. In 1804, plans were made for evacuating the Suffolk coast and taking the people with their cattle and sheep towards Debenham. Landguard Fort was garrisoned by militia, as well as by the regular troops, and along the whole coast were built the curious 'Martello' towers, copied from a similar tower in Corsica, which the French had used successfully in defence against two British men-of-war.

Peaceful arts also flourished. It was during the eighteenth century that two famous artists, Gainsborough (1727–1788) and Constable (1776–1837) drew inspiration from the fresh, pleasant scenery of the Stour Valley, and became the leaders in a new kind of landscape painting, which in the end replaced the old, more formal, styles of the Dutch school or the French classical painters.

[*By permission of Mr. H. I. Jarman.*

CULFORD HALL

Built by Charles, first Marquess Cornwallis, who commanded at Brandywine (1777) and Yorktown (1781) in the American Revolution, and captured Seringapatam from Tippoo Sahib (1792).

CHAPTER IX

MODERN SUFFOLK

SUFFOLK as we know it to-day can be dated from the Reform Act of 1832, which recognised the strong differences between the East and the West of the county. It divided Suffolk into Western and Eastern divisions, each sending its own member to Parliament. This partition of the county has since been applied to local administration also. It followed the very ancient division of the county into two archdeaconries of 'Sudbury' in the West, and 'Suffolk' in the East, an arrangement which dated from 1126. West Suffolk includes the Liberty of St. Edmund with two additional hundreds, namely, Hartismere and Stow. East Suffolk is made up of the ancient Liberty of St. Etheldreda in the south and the 'Geldable' in the north. The liberties and hundreds gradually lost their old meaning, as the new, democratic Parliaments organised the whole of England along uniform lines. One or two vestiges only of the old ways of governing remain. The liberties of St. Edmund and St. Etheldreda still have their own coroner, and the old gaol at Melton, though turned to more homely uses, still stands as a lasting memorial of the time when the Church of Ely had its courts in Suffolk, with power over life and limb, and when convicted prisoners were

MODERN SUFFOLK

[*By permission of Messrs. Jarrolds, Ltd.*

THE OLDEST SUFFOLK INDUSTRY

Flint-Knappers at work at Brandon.

hanged on the cliff at Wilford Hollow, or pressed to death in the gaol, if they refused to say whether they were guilty or innocent.

In 1835, a large part of the old Archdeaconry of Sudbury was transferred to the diocese of Ely, leaving the control in East Suffolk and three deaneries of the West to the bishops of Norwich. This arrangement continued until the recent formation of the diocese of St. Edmundsbury and Ipswich gave to the whole county a bishop of its own.

The distinction between East and West Suffolk has become more and more marked, as West Suffolk retained its purely agricultural character, while East Suffolk developed new industries. The eastern half of the county recovered from the trade depression of the eighteenth century by making good use of its position as an 'outpost towards the sea.' Coal indeed is lacking, and the timber formerly very plentiful has been exhausted; so that lack of fuel prevents the county from competing with great manufacturing districts. On the other hand, the coast-towns of Suffolk can easily import raw materials and fuel, and can send out their finished goods cheaply by water. It is these conditions which have enabled Suffolk manufacturers to send their agricultural implements and machinery all over the world. So, too, the making of fertilisers, which first grew up at Bramford in 1849, when use was made of the local coprolite beds, so grew that the raw material was brought from Florida or the islands of the Caribbean Sea. Similarly, the maltings at Beccles, Snape and Ipswich, which were first set up to malt the barley abundantly produced in Suffolk itself, were enlarged for the malting of

barley imported from Asia Minor, Tunis or Algeria. One of the most ancient industries in the county was the breeding of rabbits for their fur, in the sandy heaths round Brandon Ferry. This industry took a new lease of life when rabbit-skins were brought from Australia and New Zealand to add to those of the 'Brecklands' themselves. Xylonite factories set up on the Stour at Brantham in 1887, and the still younger artificial silk factories on the Gipping are other examples of this kind of enterprise, while Suffolk fisheries have been increased by the building of new docks at Lowestoft, and the importation of Scotch labour during the herring season.

Full use has thus been made of the sea and the rivers; but the coming of the railways to Suffolk was slow. The Eastern Counties Railway from London stopped at Colchester in 1843, and made its first line to Norwich only through the extreme west of Suffolk by way of Brandon and Thetford in 1847. A rival company, the Eastern Union Railway, filled in the gap first between Ipswich and Colchester, and later (1849) between Ipswich and Norwich. The main Yarmouth line through Beccles and Saxmundham followed as the work of a third company, the East Suffolk Railway.

These rival companies amalgamated later; but transport by water still remains the chief method for carrying goods, especially in East Suffolk, and passengers have taken to the road as in the old coaching days, going from village to village by motor-bus. The open heathland and the good air of the coast also attracts large numbers of visitors at holiday times; and many of the wide heaths remain unspoilt, in spite of

the building of aerodromes, which for the present are used rather for military purposes than for carrying goods and passengers. Suffolk, in fact, still maintains a somewhat isolated position. There is no through traffic except from London to Norfolk, and there is but little of that. The county looks out to sea, rather than inland to England, and its chief centres of life lie on the coast, at Lowestoft, a fishing town and seaside resort, Felixstowe, a holiday resort, and at the industrial borough of Ipswich.

The whole county contains rather more than 948,250 acres and has a population of 400,000, that is of only one person to every two acres. There are just under 95,500 households in the county. The industrial town of Ipswich has a population of about 79,400, Lowestoft has just over 44,300, Bury St. Edmunds 15,937. No other town except Felixstowe (11,686) has more than 10,000 inhabitants; but the population of Beccles, Newmarket and Sudbury exceeds 5,000. It is difficult to tell exactly how these modern figures compare with those of earlier dates. Roughly speaking, the present-day number of households is more than four times what it was in the reign of William the Conqueror, when the householders were 20,364, as compared with 95,482 in 1921. The most striking change in the distribution of the inhabitants is the dwindling of some of the coast-towns, such as Dunwich, which in 1086 had nearly 500 households, and in 1921 only 50; and the growth of Lowestoft, which in 1086 had a bare half-dozen households, and in 1921 included 9,700.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

THE history of Suffolk is like the diary of an ordinary man. Great events are rare. Centuries divided the martyrdom of the saintly King Edmund from the dramatic oath sworn by the barons against King John at Edmundsbury. Two hundred years and more separated the sailing of Edward III's great fleet out of the Orwell from the gathering of the Suffolk gentry to set the Tudor Mary on the throne. A century and a half divided the day, when Suffolk men near Southwold heard the booming of Dutch and British guns, from that later time when Suffolk mothers frightened their children into being good with tales of the dread French Buonaparte, who might land any moment at Hollesley Bay; and yet another century elapsed before, in our own days, the county prepared to resist a German enemy by air and by sea.

The thing that has counted most is not these dramatic moments, but the everyday life which has gone on continuously between them, communal life in village groups, where men lived on an equality, and dependence on a feudal lord was slight; the tilling of numerous small farmsteads; the growth of sheep-farms, and the development of the wool-trade; the building of fine churches, the long struggle of a Puritan people for the

teaching of the Gospel as they understood it; the establishment of many trades with distant countries to replace the vanished woollen industry—such things as these have distinguished Suffolk history and are doing so still.

The county has no grand scenery, no mountains, no great rivers; but its pleasant well-tilled valleys have inspired two of the greatest of English landscape painters. Suffolk has no great and ancient cathedral; but nearly every village has in its parish church a cathedral in miniature. The county had only one great abbey; but it was remarkably rich in lesser houses. Save for the Tollemaches in the East, and the Herveys in the West, it has few of those old-established families which in other counties have borne for generations local responsibilities; but its yeoman stock became the backbone of our earliest settlements in the New World.

It is in everyday life that Suffolk men have best shown their mettle. The mixture of the sturdy, venturous Danes with the thorough, methodical Angles produced a race of great staying power. Suffolk men do not know when they are beaten. Perhaps the best illustration of this quality is the way in which Suffolk merchants recovered from the loss of the wool-trade, long the chief source of their wealth; but the Suffolk farmer, too, has applied this characteristic in getting the best out of some of the thinnest soils in the county, and in breeding new types of cattle to meet changing conditions. A Suffolk proverb characteristically says:

'If it warn't for hope the heart 'ud die.'

While the rank and file of Suffolk men have thus kept

their county in steady prosperity, some of its natives have distinguished themselves in almost every possible way—Glanville, Grosseteste and Wolsey, for example, in law, learning and statecraft ; Cavendish, Winthrop and the Lights, father and son, in adventure and colonisation ; Gainsborough in painting, Lydgate in poetry, Ray Lankester in science.

Suffolk life remained almost undisturbed by the greatest political upheavals which affected large parts of England. No great battles were fought here during the Wars of the Roses; in the Civil Wars the whole county stood almost unanimously for Parliament, and escaped actual fighting. In such times, the county felt particularly among all its advantages that of its position, near to its markets yet somewhat isolated from court and intrigue. A stranger, a Surrey man, William Cobbett, called it 'this fine county, for which nature has done all that she can do, soil, climate, seaports, people'; and a Suffolk man, Robert Reyce, saw that it was 'nott among the least [commodity], for which this shire is indebted to nature, to receive so fitt a scituation.'

GLOSSARY
OF
PLACE-NAMES

GLOSSARY OF PLACE-NAMES

C. = Celtic. A.-S. = Anglo-Saxon.
L. = Latin. N. = Norse.
F = French, or Norman.

Owing to lack of space only a selection of names can be given. The italicised form is generally that of Domesday Book, or some other early record. Tun *means an enclosure, farm, or (later) a village.* Ham *means a farm, or meadow. For brevity both are here translated 'farm.' These explanations are based chiefly upon* 'The Place-names of Suffolk' *by the late Professor Walter W. Skeat* (1913). *Scholars are still studying the origin of many Suffolk place-names, and may in the future reach conclusions which differ from these.*

ACTON (A.-S.): *Aketona.* Possibly 'Aca's farm.'
ALDEBURGH (A.-S.): *Aldeburc.* 'The old town.'
ASPALL (A.-S.): *Aspala.* 'The aspen-tree nook.'
BADINGHAM (A.-S.): *Badincham.* 'The farm of Bada's people.'
BARKING (A.-S.): *Berchingas.* 'Dwellers by the birch trees.'
BAWDSEY (A.-S.): *Baldeseia.* 'Balder's ditch.'
BEALINGS (A.-S. and N.): *Belinges.* 'Settlement of the people of Bele.'
BECCLES (A.-S.): *Becclinga.* 'Farm or settlement of Beccel.'
BENACRE (A.-S.): *Benagra.* 'The bean-field.'
BERGHOLT, EAST (A.-S.): *Bercolt.* 'The birch-wood East' (of the birch-wood in Essex).
BLYTHBURGH (A.-S.): *Blideburc.* 'The town, or fort, on the Blythe.'
BLYTHE, RIVER (A.-S.): 'Pleasant river.'
BOTESDALE (A.-S.): *Botolvesdale* (1279). 'Botolph's (*Botwulfs*) valley.'
BOULGE (F.): *Bulges.* 'Uncultivated heath-land.'
BRICETT (A.-S.): *Brieseta.* 'Settlers in a bright spot.'
BURES (F.): *Bure.* 'A group of cottages.'
BURY ST. EDMUND'S (A.-S.): *Beaduricesuuyrthe* (870), *sancte Eadmundes byrig* (1107). Originally 'Beaduric's worth,' later 'St. Edmund's borough.'
BUTLEY (N. and A.-S.): *Butelai.* 'Butti's meadow.'
CAPEL (F.): *Capeles.* 'The chapel' or 'chapels.'
CAVENDISH (A.-S.): *Kauanadis.* 'Cafa's meadow for a second crop.'
CLARE (A.-S.): *Clara(m).* Possibly 'Clare's place.'
COMBS (A.-S.): *Cambas.* 'On a long narrow ridge.'
CONEY WESTON (N.): *Cunegestuna.* 'The King's farm West (of Botesdale).'

COPDOCK (A.-S.) : *Coppedoc* (1279). 'The pollard oak.'
CORNARD (A.-S.) : *Cornerda*. 'Corn, or plough, land.'
CULPHO (A.-S.) : *Culfole*. 'Cuthwulf's hill-spur.'
DALLINGHOO (A.-S.) : *Dallingahou*. 'At the hill-spur of the dalemen.'
DEBACH (A.-S.) : *Depebecs*. 'The deep valley or brook.'
DEBEN, RIVER (A.-S.) : A back-formation from Debenham, the deep enclosure, where the river rises.
DUNWICH (A.-S.) : *Duneuuic*. 'Duna's village,' or, according to some authorities, (C.) : *Domnoc*. 'Deep water approach.'
ELLOUGH (N.) : *Elga*. 'Helgi's settlement.'
EYE (A.-S.) : *Eiam*. 'At the stream.'
EYKE (N.) : *Eyke*. 'At the oak.'
FELIXSTOWE (A.-S.) : Originally *Filthestow*, 'A place of felled trees'; later, perhaps by confusion arising from the dedication of Walton Priory to St. Felix, and the holding of a fair at 'St. Felix stowe,' 'the place of St. Felix.'
FRAMLINGHAM (A.-S.) : *Framelingham*. Probably 'the home of the Framelings.'
FRESSINGFIELD (A.-S.) : *Fresing-feld* (1279). 'Field of the Frisians.'
GIPPING (A.-S.) : *Gippinge* (1316). 'The people of Gyppa.'
GOSBECK (A.-S.) : *Gosebek*. 'Goose-stream.'
GROTON (A.-S.) : *Grotena*. 'Sandy.'
HADLEIGH (A.-S.) : *Hetlega*. 'Heath-meadow.'
HALESWORTH (A.-S.) : *Healesuurda*. Probably 'Hael's farm.'
HAUGHLEY (A.-S.) : *Hagala*. 'Enclosed meadow-land.'
HAVERHILL (A.-S.) : *Hauerhella*. 'Goat-hill.'
HERRINGFLEET (A.-S.) : *Herlingaflet*. 'The stream of the sons of Herla.'
HINDERCLAY (N., A.-S.) : *Hilderclea*. 'Hildr's clay land.'
HOXNE (A.-S.) : *Hoxana*. 'Settlement of the Hoxan.'
INGHAM (N., A.-S.) : *Incham*. 'Meadow-farm.'
IPSWICH (A.-S.) : *Gipeswiz*. 'Gipi's village.'
KNETTISHALL (N., A.-S.) : *Ghenetessala*. 'Knöttr's nook.'
LAKENHEATH (A.-S.) : *Lakingahethe*. 'Hithe, or landing-place, of dwellers beside the brook.'
LAVENHAM (A.-S.) : *Lauenham*. 'Lafa's farm.'
LEISTON (A.-S.) : *Leiston, Lestaneston*. 'Leofstan's farm.'
LIVERMERE (A.-S.) : *Liuermera*. 'The pool of yellow-flags.'
LOUND (N.) : *Lunda*. 'A grove.'
LOWESTOFT (A.-S.) : *Lothuwistofte*. 'Hlothuwig's homestead.'
MILDENHALL (A.-S.) : *Mildenhale*. 'Milda's nook.'
MONK SOHAM (A.-S.) : *Saham*. 'An enclosure near a hollow, belonging to the monks of St. Edmund.
NAYLAND (N.) : *Eilanda*. 'Island,' the 'n' coming from (Stoke' atten) Eyland.
NEEDHAM (A.-S.) : *Nedham* (1279). 'A home in need,' i.e. place of refuge.
ORFORD (A.-S.) : *Oreford* (1279). 'Ford at the shore.'
POLSTEAD (A.-S.) : *Polesteda*. 'The pool-place.'

RAMSHOLT (A.-S.) : *Rammesholt.* 'Hræm's, or Raven's, copse.'
RISHANGLES (A.-S.) : *Risangra.* 'Rushy slopes with trees.'
SAXMUNDHAM (A.-S.) : *Saxmondeham.* Possibly 'Saxmund's farm.'
SNAPE (A.-S.) : *Snapes.* 'A boggy place.'
SOUTHWOLD (A.-S.) : *Sudwolda.* 'The South wood.'
STOWMARKET (A.-S.) : A place distinguished from the neighbouring 'Stow' by its market.
STRATFORD (A.-S.) : *Stratfort.* A place where a 'street' or old road continues beyond a ford, over the Stour at Stratford St. Mary, over the Alde at Stratford St. Andrew.
SUDBURY (A.-S.) : *Suthbyrig.* 'The South town.'
SWEFFLING (A.-S.) : *Sueflinga.* 'Settlement of the sons of Sweftel.'
SWILLAND (A.-S.) : *Suinlanda.* 'Swine-land.'
SYLEHAM (A.-S.) : *Silham.* 'An enclosure in a miry place.'
THORPE MORIEUX (A.-S., F.) : 'The village held by the Morieux family.'
THWAITE (N.) : 'A clearing in the wood.'
WALBERSWICK (A.-S.) : *Walberdeswyk.* 'Walhbert's village.'
WANGFORD (A.-S.) : (a) *Wankeforda* (Blything Hundred). 'The ford near the flat field.'
(b) *Wainforda* (Lackford Hundred). 'A shallow ford where a waggon can pass.'
WOODBRIDGE (A.-S.) : *Udebryge.* 'The wooden bridge' probably over Steynings Brook in Fen Meadow.
YOXFORD (A.-S.) : *Iokesford.* Perhaps 'the farm-servants' ford.'

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